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Selections.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

We continue in this No. of the *Standard* to copy articles from the Southern papers which advocate the Dissolution of the Union:

From the [New Orleans] Commercial Bulletin.

THE SOUTHERN ADDRESS.

We were disappointed in our expectations of receiving this document. It seems that it is not to be published until ordered by those, who either have signed it, or intend to do so. Come when it may, it will be shorn of all power; for it is the cracked and broken voice of a distracted and enfeebled body.—Better by far, that more prudent councils had prevailed, and that the South had been saved this mortifying demonstration of weakness and division.—We were opposed to the project *in limine*, apprehending the very denouement that thus occurred. It originated in a wrong source, and has been managed most unwisely. Mr. CALHOUN was the wrong man to take the initiative in the move. With all his acknowledged uprightness and purity of character, there is an odour of disunion about him that makes him exceptionable to all parties, but his own particular clique. Then again the idea of a *caucus* of members of Congress deliberating or acting upon a matter of so national a character, is not agreeable to those whom they profess to represent. Sectional divisions are to be deprecated; but if the exigencies of the times should require them, let there be no subdivisions. Party differences are of minor import, when a general assault is to be made; and a sense of common danger and defence must necessarily produce harmony, and consequently strength. Hence we are anxious that when "the crisis" does come, the people themselves, and not their agents appointed for a distinct purpose, should take the matter in hand. We must follow the homely advice of Poor Richard, and as we want the thing well done, do it ourselves. Our members of Congress, who are sent to the Capital to make laws for us, may mislead us when acting in another sphere; at least, we would not consider ourselves bound by their acts, when they transcend the powers delegated to them. The majority of the Convention who declined to act, finally upon the matter submitted to them, must have been governed by this view of the case; and we commend their modesty and sense of propriety. Yet we regret that such a contrariety of sentiment was called for. We would have wished, that, as a Convention of Southern members was organized, they could have stood upon one platform, and, at least, agreed upon what course they would *advise* their constituents to adopt. But it was not so arranged; and the moral of the whole affair is simply this:—That we are members of a divided household. But let not the fanatics of the North, who seem anxious to discover the limits of our forbearance, "lay the flattering unction to their souls," that we are not prepared for concerted action, when the time for action does come. We have already commenced, and in the right way. Virginia has first spoken; and with a tone and harmony of voice that she must be heard. Florida has followed the example with perfect unanimity, and every Southern State in turn will apprise the North, that when aggression becomes intolerable, longer forbearance will cease to be a virtue. And we have no apprehensions for the future. Let us go rightly to work, and all will be well.

The following resolutions have been adopted by the Legislature of Florida, by a unanimous vote.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Florida in General Assembly convened, That as friends of the Union, we view with most serious alarm the course of our Northern brethren in relation to the question of Slavery; a course which, marked by unkindness, wrong, insult and injury, has already, to a most unfortunate extent, weakened the bonds which unite them and us; which, if persisted in, in the same spirit, can only terminate in further alienation, and in the inevitable dissolution of the Confederacy.

Resolved, That the recently acquired Territory having been purchased by blood and treasure, of which her full proportion was contributed by the South, she and her sons are entitled equally, with any other portion of the Union, to the enjoyment of the same; this General Assembly, therefore, believing that Congress possesses, under the Constitution, no power to pass such a measure, adopting similar language to that of the Legislature of Virginia, hereby declare it as their opinion, "that, under no circumstances, will the people of this State be willing to recognize as binding any enactment of the Federal Government which has for its object the prohibition of Slavery in any Territory south of the line of the Missouri Compromise, holding it to be the natural and independent right of each citizen of each and every State of the Confederacy, to reside with his property, of whatever description, in any Territory acquired by the arms of the United States, or yielded by treaty with any foreign power."

Resolved, That the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, involving, as it does, an exercise of power not granted by the Constitution, and designed, as it is, as a means of affecting the institution of Slavery in the States, against which it is aimed as a blow, should be resisted on the part of the South, by whatever means are best adapted to the protection of the Constitution, the defence of herself, and the preservation of the Union.

Resolved, That, knowing no *party* names, or political divisions, on questions involving in their settlement and consequences the character, property, and lives of those whom we represent, we are ready, heart and soul, with a united front, to join Virginia, the Carolinas, and the other Southern States, in taking such measures for the defence of our rights, and the preservation of ourselves, and those whom we hold dear, as the highest wisdom of all may, whether through a Southern Convention or otherwise, suggest and devise.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the Governor of each of the slave States, with a request that they be laid before the Legislature of such as are now in session.

From the [Edgefield, C. H.] Advertiser.

THE SOUTHERN ADDRESS.

For the want of space we have been unable to lay before our readers in our present issue, the Address of the Southern Delegates in Congress to their constituents. The address has been signed by forty-five Southern Senators and Representatives, and among them only two *Whigs*. It is written in good taste, and considering the provocations to excitement, it is remarkably temperate in tone and sentiment. It gives a dispassionate, but a bold, and dignified analysis of the whole subject of our wrongs. It paints in vivid colours the gradual encroachments of abolition fanaticism from the ordinance of '87, to the rabid resolutions proposed and discussed before the late and present Congress. It portrays the imminent dangers which threaten the Republic from the effects of this virulent spirit; and closes with a manly and solemn appeal to the Southern members of the Confederacy, "to *be united*, and to adopt all necessary measures," to strike without looking to consequences, in defence of rights, involving their all—their "property, prosperity, equality, liberty and safety."

We are, then, Fellow-citizens, arrived at a solemn crisis! The safety of all we hold dear in life is at stake—our prosperity, our liberty, our very existence! The address alluded to, spreads before our eyes in language not to be misunderstood, our wrongs and our dangers. But it proposes no measures of redress. It leaves to the intelligent and spirited people of the South, to adopt their own means of defence. But it solemnly urges them to do something. Will the people, whose rights and liberties are so endangered, not respond to the noble sentiments of liberty and patriotism poured forth in their behalf? Let them rise in all the dignity of their strength;—let them plant themselves in manly attitude to defend their rights and liberties, without looking to consequences, and "the North will be brought to a pause!" Let them stand boldly to the post of honour and justice, and the North may yet adopt a course of policy, which may quietly terminate this long and serious "conflict between the two sections."; But let them stand at *all hazards!* "Their assailants and not they, will be responsible for the consequences."—"They will stand justified by all laws, human and divine;" for they not only hold in their hands, the liberties of the present generation, but also the liberties of *posterity!*

We hope that "Old Edgefield" will not be backward in making known her sentiments at this serious juncture. We trust she will give a hearty response to the address.

We suggest the propriety of calling a meeting of the citizens of the District as soon as practicable.

From the [Hamburg, S. C.] Republican.

We have given up a large space in our present number to the reports of public meetings responding to the Address of the Southern Members of Congress to their constituents. It would be superfluous in us to commend these proceedings to a careful reading, as the cause is quite sufficient without editorial stimulants to command the attention and excite the feelings of every man who feels as freemen should feel. We feel, however, that it would be coming short of our duty were we to omit, on the present occasion, to say that the unanimity of feeling that seems to prevail at the South, among the *people*, commands our admiration, and augurs well for the Union. Let the Southern *people* be united, speaking out as men who know their rights, and will maintain them, and we shall soon perceive that Northern fanaticism will be less *sympathetic*, and Southern political *traitors* less daring.

We confidently believe that the Southern Address is destined to work a wonderful influence on the minds of the people of the Slave States. The facts and historical truths set forth in this plain and incontrovertible narrative, has tended to arrest the judgments of men and forced them as it were to see the light. From one end of the slaveholding States to the other, public meetings have been, and are being held, and from all yet heard from but one spirit seems to animate the great mass of the people. This general movement will not fail to teach demagogues and trading politicians who have been tampering with the rights and liberties of their constituents, to pause and count the cost of their treachery. A crisis has arrived that demands the united wisdom and energy of every citizen in the Southern States to arrest the supercilious aggressions of the free States. That this crisis is fully understood, and the magnitude of the impending danger appreciated by the South, no longer admits of doubt. Old Virginia has spoken out, and taken the lead in defence of our constitutional rights. What Southern man will dare be so base a dastard as not to follow when the countrymen of Henry and Jefferson leads.

From the Memphis [Tenn.] Eagle.

RECOVERY OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.—VIRGINIA.

It gives us much pleasure in this day of insubstantial abstractions, to meet with a really sensible and practicable Southern movement—one that can look to real action and yet talk of something else than disunion. When the South is called upon to notice her wrongs, we wish something substantial to be proposed to her, something which will not compromise the dignity of Southern States by making them subscribe to unintelligible dogmas and vague declarations.

We are pleased to meet with such a movement in the proceedings of the Virginia legislature. In the House of Delegates on the 7th February, a select committee reported some admirable resolutions, proposing new measures of the most efficient character for the recovery of slaves escaping into the free States After a lengthy and able report, the committee concluded by recommending amendments by Congress to the law of 12th February, 1793, so as to make effective the guaranty to slave owners by the 3d clause, 2d section and 4th article of the Constitution of the United States, and requested the efforts of the Virginia United States Senators and Representatives in behalf thereof. The amendments proposed confer:

1st. Upon every commissioner, clerk, and marshal of the Federal courts, and every postmaster and collector of the customs of the United States, the authority now granted to the judges of the circuit and district courts of the United States, to give to the claimant of a fugitive slave the certificate authorized by said act, and to make the duties herein prescribed mandatory.

2d. To authorise, upon proper affidavits, the claimant, when deemed necessary by him, to apply to the judges of the circuit and district courts of the United States, and to every commissioner and clerk of the federal courts, and to every postmaster and collector of the customs of the United States, for a warrant directed to the marshal of the United States, for the seizure and arrest of his fugitive slave, and after certificate given, to require said marshal to aid in the removal of said slave beyond the limits of the State into which he has escaped.

3d. To authorise and require the marshal to employ as many assistants as he may find necessary to carry the judgment and process of the court into effect—the services of such assistants to be paid from the public treasury of the United States.

4th. To authorise all the officers clothed with judicial powers under such law, when distant from the residence of the regular marshals of the United States, to appoint one who shall, for all the purposes of carrying into effect the process of the court in such case, be invested with the power and authority conferred on the marshals of the United States.

5th. To increase the penalty now prescribed by law for obstructing and hindering a claimant in seizing and arresting his slave, and to enlarge the provision so as to embrace all persons assisting him; to increase the penalty for harbouring and concealing fugitive slaves, with a provision giving one-half of the penalty to the informer.

6th. To declare all assemblies for the purpose of obstructing the execution of the process authorised by this act, unlawful assemblages, the parties concerned to be guilty of misdemeanors—all breaches of the peace resulting from such assemblages, to be also misdemeanors—and all mayhems and deaths resulting from such unlawful gatherings to be felonies—and that all such offences be cognizable and punishable by the courts of the United States.

These are exactly the provisions needed for the protection of the South, and they are admirably laid within the limits of the Constitution and the regular workings of our administrative government. We have an immense number of Federal office-holders, and we see no good reason, under existing emergencies, why they should not be made to coöperate in the maintenance of the compromises of that Constitution, under which and by virtue of which their offices exist. Spread throughout the whole Union, found in every city, village, county town and cross-roads, these office-holders cannot but be a most effective arm of protection to Southern property, if the admirable provisions proposed by the Virginia legislature be, as they would be, adopted by Congress. At present, it is difficult to command the services of the limited number of United States officers, whose duty it is to assist in the recovery of fugitive slaves. They are too widely scattered over the country, too few in number and live too generally at obscure points not known to Southern citizens. The resolutions under notice provide most efficiently for a remedy of all these circumstantial embarrassments.

Nor do we think that sound conservative citizens of the North can at all object to, or throw difficulties in the way of the congressional enactment of the proposed provisions. It has been a standing complaint with them, that Southerners claim as a right the coöperation of the State Governments in the recovery of fugitive Slaves; whereas they contend that the State governments are only bound to throw no obstacles in the way of such recovery. It is noticeable that this latter view of the subject has been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States As a matter of *obligation* they are correct—as a matter of honest good feeling we can scarcely say as much for them. Such a law as that passed by Massachusetts and Rhode Island, imposing a penalty of $1000 and imprisonment upon any State officer assisting in the recovery of a fugitive slave, if not violative of the Constitution, certainly wrongs that noble feeling of good fellowship and golden harmonies, which are the strength and ornament of the Union; and is well calculated to awaken the indignation of Southern citizens. It shows bad feeling and a disposition to go as far as possible, as "the law allows," in rendering Southern property insecure. The resolutions of the Virginia legislature leave no room for Constitutional quibbles. The action proposed is nothing more than an extension of the regular workings of the Constitution—a legitimate enforcement of its solemn compromises—a fuller declaration of the rules of property rights. This recovery of fugitive slaves is declared the exclusive duty of the Federal Government, and provision is made that its powers shall be ample for the efficient performance of its duty. That duty is solemnly declared in the original Constitution of our country, as that noble document came from hands of its wise and illustrious framers. No man who honestly loves and respects that document, can oppose any measure in keeping with it, which proposes to fortify and enforce its provisions. Of this character are the Virginia resolutions—worth a dozen manifestoes, no matter how able in argument or elequent in language. We are willing to dispense with the coöperation of State governments in the matter of recovering fugitive slaves. The General Government is strong enough to maintain the Constitution and the laws; and if it were not strong enough we would make it stronger. This is the spirit of the Virginia resolutions. We stand by them for one. We will labour for them. We demand their adoption as laws, by Congress. Here at last, Southerners, are some things plain, practical and just—full of wise counsel and protective of your rights. Stand, shoulder to shoulder, Whigs and Democrats, and move forward with calm resoluteness and unwavering confidence of success, to carry these points. You move under the broad cover of the Constitution, and there need be no boding battle-cry of Disunion in our ranks.

From the (San Augustine) Texas Union.

We have received as yet no definite account of the proceedings of the adjourned meeting of the Southern Convention which met in the Senate Chamber on the 15th ult. They met with closed doors, and their proceedings had not transpired in Washington at our latest dates from that city. We learn from the Washington Union that the address reported by the select committee was re-committed to the same select committee for the purpose of revision, to be reported back to the meeting on Monday night. Two members of the select committee of fifteen are said to have withdrawn—for what reason it is not known or at least it is not stated. We regret to add that from the remarks of the venerable editor of the Washington Union, it is obvious that harmony does not prevail in the councils of this convention. It seems that some of the Southern Whigs decline acting in this matter with the majority of their Southern brethren. This is peculiarly unfortunate. We are not of those who would counsel, at this time, violent or ultra measures.—The unfortunate dispute between the North and the South, which is assuming so threatening an aspect, may we believe be accommodated to the satisfaction of the reasonable of all parties. But it is reason and not passion that is to effect this "consummation so devotedly to be wished." Still it is all-important that the South show themselves not only firm but united. Let the North but see perfect unanimity and harmony prevailing in the ranks of our representatives, in this momentous matter, backed by similar sentiments among the whole Southern constituency, and they will reflect long before they push matters to extremity. How those Southern Whig representatives alluded to can reconcile their conduct to their conscience, we are at a loss to conceive. And how they expect to justify their course to their constituents, is a question equally difficult of solution.

Public Meetings.

A meeting was held in Charleston S. C. on the 27th ulto. and among its officers appear the names of some of the most distinguished citizens of South Carolina. We copy from the *Charleston Evening News*, the Report and Resolutions adopted by the meeting:

REPORT.

The alarming condition of public affairs in relation to the rights, property, and safety of the slaveholding States of this Union, which is described with so much calmness and truth in this address of Southern Delegates, calls for the most deliberate and prudent counsels, as to our course of action; and for the most unyielding firmness in maintaining that course when once decided on. For many years past there has been growing up a danger to the peace and prosperity of the Slave States, which was at all times a well founded cause for anxiety, but which has more recently been developed schemes and measures against them, giving grounds for the most profound alarm for their safety, their rights, their property, and their honour. The institution of Slavery, with the continuance and protection of which, the welfare and existence of the Slave States is inseparable, and which was, in the language of the Virginia resolutions, "fully discussed in the convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, and the rights of slaveholders recognized and protected by the provisions of that instrument; and without the compromises then solemnly entered into the Union of the States never could have been formed," has, in utter disregard of the obligations and compromises of that solemn compact, been undermined, assailed and brought into imminent danger by the acts of the people, of the press, and of the Legislatures, and of the Courts of most of the States of the Union in which Slavery does not exist; and by the acts of their Representatives in Congress.

To enumerate the numerous proofs of all these would consume far more time than can be devoted here. The Committee will but glance at them briefly. For many years, the institution of Slavery and its supporters have been virulently assailed in the non-slaveholding States, by numerous and powerful associations of affiliated societies, having large funds and numerous presses coöperating and devoted to the dissemination of false and libellous attacks on them. Petitions containing slanderous and unfounded imputations on Slavery and slaveholders have been pertinaciously forced upon Congresses in which their Representatives were members, obstructing the public business and outraging their feeling thereby. Religious denominations, forgetful of the ties of fraternity and the obligations of Christian duty, have fomented disorder, heaped fuel on the flames of controversy, and dismembered their Churches to make war on this institution and the people of the slaveholding States, who have done them no wrong. Public meetings and popular conventions have been held to denounce the institution, and assail the characters privileges, and feelings of slaveholders.—Their presses, in an alarming and large majority, have contributed their full share in this unjust course of vituperation and obloquy. Their Legislatures have not been behind the people and the press, in aggression and injury. Many of them have repealed salutary laws, passed by their predecessors in the better days of the Republic, for the fulfilment of their constitutional obligations to deliver up fugitive slaves to their owners; and some of them, going beyond this, and in disregard of these obligations, have made laws forbidding their courts and officers from giving aid, and to punish their citizens, if they give aid to the owner of a fugtive slave in recovering his property—thus nullifying and abolishing those solemn compacts of the Constitution, without the adoption of which, the slaveholding States never would have entered into the Union.

But carrying aggressions still further on the rights of slaveholders, the Legislatures of those States where Slavery does not exist, have, (without exception it is believed) passed resolutions in their political and governmental organization, equivalent to the Wilmot Proviso, for the excluding of slaveholders and their slaves from the Territories of the United States, thus confiscating to their own use exclusively the lands which are the rightful and common property of all the States, purchased and paid for by their common treasure, or won by their common arms. In one remarkable instance the great State of New York has signalized this spoliation, by proposing to extend it tot he stripping of Texas of a large part of her rightful territory *so as to surround and encircle the Slave States with institutions and a population, antagonist, if not hostile, to them.*

It is then apparent that not only is there a dangerous progress of attack on the institution of Slavery, against which early and efficient defence is necessary, but that the very nature and condition of our Constitution and Government is being subverted, changed, and revolutionized.

Well calculated as were these unfriendly and hostile demonstrations to cause anxiety, and even alarm, the Slave States might have continued to repose with some confidence, and more of hope, on Congress to maintain the compacts of the Constitution, had Congress remained free from the infection, and true and faithful to those compacts. But recent events dispel an illusion, which, however grateful to our hopes, it would be the sheerest folly to rest upon. All men, who will not shut their eyes to what is in progress, must see that it is on ourselves, (on the people of the fifteen Slaves States, which, with the District of Columbia, contain a population of nine millions of people, three times as many in numbers, and more than three times as rich in resources as were our ancestors when they protected themselves from the aggressions of an insolent impost and dominant majority,) that the maintenance of our rights, privileges, and honour, must depend.—The votes of Congress show us that these rights have been trampled on and abandoned. Congress, having no rightful control over Slavery, passed the Oregon bill, with a clause prohibiting Slavery, answering no practical or other purpose than to insult and degrade the slaveholder with the imputation of inequality. The House of Representatives have entertained propositions denying that there is property in slaves, and to prohibit Slavery, and the selling and disposing of slaves in the District of Columbia; to admit slaves and free blacks to vote on the question of emancipation; and for excluding slaves and their owners from California and New Mexico. In these aggressions, Northern members are the parties, and it is painful to add, that the Senate, heretofore a bulwark of the Constitution, is no longer able to maintain its former conservative and salutary power, but appears daily to yield to the outward influences operating upon it. One by one those honourable and patriotic men, who prefer their country and its prosperity and welfare to office and station, and who have stood firmly up for the Constitution and the rights of the slaveholders, have been abandoned and sacrificed by their constituents.

The attacks upon the institutions of the Slave States are daily becoming more daring and unscrupulous; the friends they have had in the non-slave States, are growing fewer and more timid; and there is the clearest evidence that their only safety and protection is to be found in what is so powerfully and truly set forth in the Address, viz: "Union amongst ourselves," and in what Virginia invites in her fifth Resolution, viz: "firm, united and concerted action in this emergency," It will be worse than folly, it will be a crime, to rely on Congress with such indications as have been exhibited. We shall trust only to be betrayed—to fall helpless and unresisting victims, to the grossest injustice and the rankest dishonour.

But the Committee before dismissing the subject recur with more pleasure to the prospects that are opening amongst themselves for the preservation of the rights and liberties, and honour of the Slave States. There has been a calm but decided progress in the public mind, which has met the concentration of Anti-Slavery fanaticism and injustice, with a corresponding union of the slave interest in resistance and defence. Aggressions so palpable and unjust on the one side, have rallied to its defence thousands amongst us who were at one time indifferent or even opposed in sentiment; and we are rapidly presenting a firm, united, and let us hope soon a concentrated action in opposition to this aggression, The frontier States of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, have spoken in language not to be mistaken, the first in her Constitution recently revised, and the two latter in resolutions pregnant with meaning.—The Legislatures of North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida, sustain the salutary ground taken by Virginia—and the public sentiment, as gathered in popular meetings and the press, indicates beyond doubt that Virginia will be supported by the people of every Slave State in the Union.

It is in this firm, united and concerted resistance that we see the salvation of the Slave States, the preservation of the Constitution in its purity, equality and justice; and the maintenance of the Union in all its beneficent and glorious accompaniments. To those faithful and vigilant public servants who have given us this warning our gratitude is due. They have created nothing of the dangers they portray—they have only exposed them to our view. They have warned us of them, and pointed out to us the road of safety. It is our own folly and weakness that alone will prevent our plucking safety out of this peril. Union amongst ourselves—a union that denies party for country, and that rallies all in one council, and one great effort to save our Country—the Constitution—and the Union.

Resolved, That the citizens of Charleston District have maturely examined and deliberately approved of "The Address of Southern Delegates in Congress to their constituents," and of all the recommendations therein, and of the conduct of those Representatives who have signed the same.

Resolved, That with Virginia, we say and declare, that the Government of the United States has no control, directly or indirectly, mediately or immediately, with or over the institution of Slavery, so as to impair the rights of the slaveholder; and that in taking any such control it transcends the limits of its legitimate functions, by destroying the internal organization of the sovereignties who created it.

Resolved, That all territory acquired by the arms of the United States, or yielded by treaty with any foreign power, belongs to the several States of this Union as their joint and common property, in which each and all have equal rights; and that the enactment by the Federal Government of any law which should, directly or by its effects, prevent the citizens of any State from emigrating with their property, of whatever description, into such Territory, would make a discrimination unwarranted by, and in violation of the rights of the States from which such citizens emigrated, and in derogation of that perfect equality that belongs to the several States as members of this Union, and would tend directly to subvert the Union itself.

Resolved, That if in disregard alike of the spirit and principles of the act of Congress on the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union, generally known as the Missouri Compromise, and of every consideration of justice, of constitutional right, and of fraternal feeling, the fearful issue shall be forced upon the country, which must result from the adoption of the Wilmot Proviso or any equivalent measure, as an act of the General Government, the people of Charleston District can have no difficulty in choosing between the only alternatives that will remain, of *abject submission* to aggression and outrage on the one hand, or *determined resistance* on the other, *at all hazards*, and to the *last extremity*.

Resolved, That this meeting holds it to be the duty of every man in every section of this confederacy (if the Union is dear to him) to oppose the passage of any law for whatever purpose, by which territory acquired may be subject to such restriction.

Resolved, That the passage of such a proviso or any equivalent measure by Congress, would make it the duty of every slaveholding State, and of all the citizens thereof, *as they value their dearest privileges, their sovereignty, their independence, and their rights of property, to take firm, united and concerted action in this emergency.*

Resolved, That we regard the passage of any law by Congress, abolishing Slavery or the slave trade, or admitting slaves to vote in the District of Colombia as a direct attack upon the institutions of the slaveholding States, and as such to be resisted at every hazard.

Resolved, That in the event of the passage by Congress of the Wilmot Proviso, or any equivalent measure, or any measure for the abolition of Slavery or the slave trade, or the admission to vote of slaves, in the District of Colombia, that the Governor of this State be, and he is hereby requested, immediately to convene the Legislature of this State (if it be not in session) to consider the mode and measure of redress.

Resolved, That the citizens of Charleston District will hold themselves ever ready to coöperate with their fellow-citizens of the Slave States in any and every measure that may be considered by them expedient for maintaining the principles in the foregoing resolutions; and that for the purpose of being always prepared for such coöperation and producing *concert of action*, a Committee of Safety to consist of twenty-one persons, be appointed by the Chair, which shall be charged as a Committee of Vigilance and Safety to correspond with other like Committee and to take all future measures necessary to carry out the foregoing resolves.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to his Excellency the Governor and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

At a meeting of the people of Gadsden Co. (S. C.) on the 17th ulto. the following Resolutions were adopted:

On motion of Bolling Barker, Esq. it was

Resolved, That a committee of twelve be appointed to draft and report to the meeting resolutions in accordance with the object of it. Whereupon, the following named persons were appointed said committee; Bolling Baker, C. H. Dupont, Hudson Muse, J. M. Gilchrist, Arthur J. Forman, Wm. Munroe, D. L. Keenan, A. McIver, N. Stewart, A. K. Allison, Jonathan, & P. W. White, who retired, and reported the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas the Representatives in Congress from the slave-holding States lately held a meeting at the Capitol, for the purpose of devising such measures as should, in their opinion, be best calculated to arrest the aggressions of the North upon the rights of their constituents: and, whereas, we have observed, with pain and deep mortification, a want of that unanimity of sentiment and action which formerly did, and ought always to characterize the efforts of Southern Representatives, upon this vitally important subject: and, whereas, we hold it to be the birthright of an American citizen, to be correctly represented in the councils of the nation, upon all subjects affecting the harmony and perpetuity of the cherished union of these States: Be it therefore:

Resolved, 1st, That the object contemplated in the organization of the Convention of the Representatives from the slaveholding States, lately held at the National Seat of Government, meets with our most hearty approval.

2d. *Resolved*, That the address issued by a majority of that Convention, setting forth the constitutional rights of the Southern States of this Confederacy, should, in our opinion, have received the unanimous sanction of that body, believing, as we do, that it correctly embodies the sentiments of the entire South. * * * * * *

5th. *Resolved*, That while we yield to none in our devoted attachment to the Union of these States, we feel it due to the importance of the subject, and the solemnity of the occasion, to declare that that union can be preserved, only by a rigid adherence to the principle upon which it was based, to wit: Perfect Equality among the members of the Confederacy.

6th. *Resolved*, That the resolutions unanimously passed at the last session of our State Legislature, on the subject of the *Wilmot Proviso*, and other kindred measures, meet our hearty approval.

7th. *Resolved*, That in the language and spirit of the closing resolution of our State Legislature, and "knowing no party names or political divisions, on questions involving in their settlement and consequences, our character, property and lives, we are ready, heart and soul, with a united front, to join Virginia, the Carolinas, and the other Southern States, in taking such measures for the defence of our rights, and the preservation of ourselves and those whom we hold dear, as the highest wisdom of all may, whether through a Southern Convention or otherwise, suggest and devise."

8th *Resolved*, That these proceedings be published in the Tallahassee, and other papers of the State, and that attested copies of the same be forwarded by the Secretary to our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

At a public meeting held in Mobile, Alabama, on the 12th February, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. Resolved, That we heartily approve the conduct of the Senators and Representatives in Congress of the Southern States in general, and of the State of Alabama in particular, in the adoption and signature of the "Address of the Southern Delegates" to their constituents of the South.

2. Resolved, That we fully concur in the propriety of the tone and the truth of the matter of that Address—we agree that aggression has followed aggression, and encroachment, on the part of the Northern States, upon the rights, the feelings, and the interests of the Southern States, relative to the institution of Slavery, and that the time has arrived for a plain and explicit understanding between the different sections of this Confederacy as to the means of maintaining its peace and stability.

3. Resolved, That the encouragement and countenance given in the Northern States to the agitation on the subject of Slavery, through the churches, organized societies, popular assemblies, the public press, and the Legislatures of those States, have produced a wide-spread alienation in the hearts of a large portion of our people from a further connection with those States, and that unless its continuance be obstructed by the sober-minded and honest of those States, it must inevitably render such alienation as natural as it will be universal. That these feelings of alienation have been strengthened by the efforts made on behalf of those States to impose odious and unconstitutional restrictions upon the power of our citizens to emigrate with their property to Oregon, California, and Mexico—and that when we consider that, in addition to those repeated wrongs, menacing resolutions to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, have received the sanction of a majority of Northern representatives, and that a large proportion of the same representatives deny that slaves are property under the Constitution of the United States, and may be taken from their owners without compensation—a large portion of our people have concluded that the only alternative left to them is abolition of Slavery at the demand of the North, or a total separation of all farther political connection with those States.

4. Resolved, That the adoption by the State Legislatures of the principal non slaveholding States, of laws framed with the view of annulling the Constitutional provisions in regard to fugitive slaves—the steady and increasing demand made by those States for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia—the declaration of New York that the limits of Texas as a Slave territory ought to be curtailed—the incessant attacks yearly becoming more bold and unscrupulous, upon the compromises of the Constitution, under which slave population is represented in Congress, manifests a strong, increasing, and dangerous disposition on the part of those States to assume and exercise a complete control over the institution of Slavery in the Southern States, and to dictate the terms and conditions of the relations between master and slave, to which no free and enlightened people ought to submit.

5. Resolved, That the territories ceded by Mexico to the United States, are the fruit of the blood and treasure of the slaveholding States. That we cannot forget that the slaveholding as well as the non-slaveholding States contributed to the armies of the Union—Scott, Taylor, Gaines, Butler, Jesup, Quitman, Twiggs, Smith and Davis—and that McIntosh, Ringgold, McKee, Clay, Yell, Butler, Dickinson, Burgwin, and a host of others, shed their blood for the common cause. Nor can we forget that he who saved the day at Buena Vista—he who planted the standard of the Union on the walls of Mexico, and he who performed the boldest reconnoisence in the campaigns of Scott, were all men of the South—that of the armies which entered the battle fields of Mexico, nearly two to one were from the Southern States—that it was in the heroic deeds and by the blood of these men, freely shed for the whole Union, that its title to these territories has been acquired—and that we should hold ourselves unworthy of the dead and unfit to cherish the fame of living heroes were we to consent to the restrictions sought to be imposed upon us in these territories, or to any measure whereby the honour, the rights, or the dignity of the Southern States was sought to be impaired in the Government of the Union.

6. Resolved, That we are strengthened in the determination to maintain our rights by a recollection of the concessions made by the Southern States to the feelings and opinions of the North upon the subject of Slavery. At the conclusion of the war of the Revolution, the vacant and unappropriated lands within the limits of the U. S. belonged to the slaveholding States. Virginia consented to yield to the Union, territories for five States, and that the Southern States consented to the exclusion of Slavery from them—the ordinance of 1787, resting upon no legal authority, has been upheld by the honour and good faith of the South alone—the acquisition of territory since that time from France, and by the annexation of Texas to the United States, has been of territory in which Slavery existed by the municipal law in force. These territories have been divided—the Northern States received far the largest share, from which Slavery is excluded by laws, the constitutionality of which the Southern people deny, but which have been observed with truth and loyalty. Under these facts, the Southern people would be unworthy their ancestors, were they tamely to submit to any legislation excluding themselves or their property from the lately acquired territories of the Union.

7. Resolved, That we approve the action that has been taken by the ancient and honoured commonwealth of Virginia, on there subjects, and recommend to the Legislature of the State of Alabama to prepare the State to sustain her to the last extremity.

The citizens of Hamburg S. C. at a public meeting on the 19th February, resolved as follows:

Whereas, the spirit of aggression and encroachment on the part of the non-slaveholding States upon the rights, feelings and interests of the Slaveholding States, relative to the institution of slavery has increased to a fearful extent—threatening the political alienation of the North and the South regardless of the guarantees of the Constitution, as is manifest in the action of their State Legislatures, and in the proceedings of Congress: Therefore,

Resolved, That we justify the action and approve the sentiments and tone of the Address of the Southern Members of Congress to their constituents; and whilst we hope for an amicable adjustment of this vital controversy, we yet deem it conducive to that end, and due to to ourselves to respound cordially to its recommendations.

Resolved, That the Federal Constitution recognizes Slavery as it exists in the Southern States, as constituting the basis of taxation, and as an important element in determining the relative weight of the Southern States in the government of the Union.

Resolved, That the foundations of the Government are laid and rest on the right of property in slaves, and that the full recognition of this right and title was so indispensable to the security of this species of property in all the slaveholding States, and so vital to the preservation of their interests and institutions, that it constituted a fundamental article, without the adoption of which the Union would not have been formed.

Resolved, That the clause of the Constitution which provides for the delivery of fugitive slaves, "on the claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due" escaping into another State, contemplates the existence of a positive, unqualified right on the part of the owner of the slave, which no State law or regulation can in any way control, qualify or restrain. And that the adoption by the non-slaveholding States of Legislative acts, hostile to this position, interposing obstacles and impediments, and imposing penalties on their Judges and Magistrates who shall aid in the recovery of the fugitive slaves by the owners, is in disregard of the sacred obligations of compact, and a practical annullment within their respective borders of that clause in the Constitution which cannot be surrendered by the Southern States, without endangering their whole property in slaves.

Resolved, That the systematic agitation of the question of Slavery by the Abolitionists, by the organizations of societies, debating clubs, the establishment of newspapers, the employment of lecturers, the publication of pamphlets and pictures, regardless of truth and decency, the circulation of incendiary publications in the South, petitions to Congress, and the employment of emissaries in our midst, all resorted and directed to render the South, odious to the North—to destroy the relations which exist between the two races at the South, and to excite discontent among the slaves, while it does not strike at any specific provision of the Constitution is in violation of its spirit and that good faith and fraternal feeling which entered into its formation, and which should exist between the States, and is directly subversive of one of the ends for which the Constitution was ordained and established, "to insure domestic tranquility," and that in the only way in which domestic tranquility is likely ever to be disturbed in the South.

Resolved, That the question of domestic servitude in the Territories is beyond the Legislative power of Congress, and can only be adjusted by the people thereof in Convention to form a State Constitution, preparatory to their admission as States into the Union.

Resolved, That ours is a Federal Government, in which not individuals but States, as distinct sovereignties or communities, are the constituents; and that the Territories held by the Federal Representative belong to the States as joint owners, each of which is equal in rights and dignity to the others.

Resolved, That all the States are, under the Constitution, equal political sovereignties, and as the South contributed her full quota of men and an equal share of energy and heroism in conquering the new Territories, her exclusion from equal privileges and immunities, with other sections, in them would be unconstitutional, unjust and degrading, and could not be tolerated by a free people.

Resolved, That the abolition by Congress of Slavery in the District of Columbia, without the consent of the citizens, and the concurrence of the States which ceded the District, would be a dangerous assumption of unauthorized power, and should be resisted.

Resolved, That on this question the ordinary party divisions among us are forgotten, and that we will be animated by one common feeling as Southern people, equally to adhere to and preserve the guarantees of the Constitution, as to resist their violation at any and every hazard of fortune and life.

Resolved, That to adjust definitely and silence forever all Slavery agitation, will require the united energies and wisdom of all the slaveholding States, and to accomplish that end, we regard it the duty of every citizen, whether native or adopted, irrespective of party distinctions, to discard every political party feeling, and to endeavour to promote concert, union and harmony among ourselves.

Resolved, That while we entertain an undiminished attachment to that Union which was formed "to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, and secure the blessings of liberty," and are ever ready to make any sacrifice for its maintenance, yet we would regard the application of the Wilmot Proviso to the territory acquired, or to be acquired, or the adoption by the General Government of any kindred measure, tending to the destruction of our property and the extinction of our peace, as subversive of the objects for which the Union was formed, and subjecting the Southern States to political degradation; and that when such contingency occurs, we pledge ourselves to coöperate with the Southern people in any measure of redress or mode of resistance that may be indicated and sanctioned by the sovereign power of the State.

Resolved, That we have increased confidence in our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and will sustain them into whatever extremity they may be forced in defence of our rights, and that a copy of these proceedings be sent to them, through our immediate Representative, as a mark of our approbation of their course.

The following Preamble and Resolutions were adopted at a meeting of the citizens of the county of Upson (Ga.) held on the 27th January.

When in the course of human events the power of governments becomes subversive of the rights of the people, it is the most sacred duty of freemen to redress the wrongs—and it is no less the highest privilege of the governed to anticipate coming evils, and in all forms proper to stay their perpetration.

Now the slaveholding States in common with the Free States are members of a Union, formed in the spirit of compromise on the principle of equity. Our fathers were patriots and to blaze the way through a wilderness of tyranny for us to grandeur and glory, they originated

which could befall us, but not the greatest." Submission to the insatiable cravings of Anti Slavery is infinitely worse than all our blessings in the Union; "it would demoralize the constitution of our society, it would let loose around our firesides, upon our altars the fiercest butchery and bloodshed the world ever witnessed. Beginning with a few dispersed fanatics, in less than the quarter of an age it has grown a giant fierce, fiendish and already mighty and all the time the syren song has been chaunted in our ears "be *still*, all is well." This we used to hear from those who feigned to be our friends in an enemy's land, but now the note is struck in our very midst, and that too when every man who has dared to show the "spirit and principle" that made the Union is already struck down among our enemies. Yes, we are dictated "to be still," while our enemies are beleaguring us in open day and a bold front while they are actually attacking the last outposts of our rights. The North is united, and no candid man will deny it; we will be united too. And we, the citizens of Upson, irrespective of party, regardless alike of the taunts of friends, and the threats of enemies,

Resolved, That on the Slavery question we are *one*, Southerners, Slavery men; And,

Resolved, That we learn with the deepest grief, that any difference either in opinion or action exists among our members in Congress; And,

Resolved, That we shall see with deep humiliation a division among the people of Georgia upon this question so vital, and rapidly assuming a position in which we must triumph or be conquered.

Resolved, That we believe the Institution of African Slavery as it exists among us, one that has elevated a large race from the most degraded barbarism to a good degree of civilization; while no other Institution has made a tithe of its progress (and many have been tried.)

Resolved, That there exists on no spot on this green earth a nobler race of white men than are found in our midst; the statesman, the soldier, the divine, and the Christian attain their fullest growth with all "*its evils*" brooding over them.

Resolved, That we pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honour, to maintain our rights as equals in this Union; by resisting peaceably, if we can, the encroachments of the Government of the United States upon Slavery and *forcibly if we must*.

Resolved, That the enactment of the Wilmot Proviso below the Compromise of our fathers (the Missouri Compromise;) or the interference of Congress with Slavery in the District of Columbia, or with the Slave Trade among the States or any of them will dissolve the tie that binds us to this Union.—And,

Resolved, That we respectfully submit to our fellow citizens in Georgia, that her voice from the seaboard to the mountians upon this vital subject should be heard, unmistakably heard throughout our widespread Union. Mr. Obadiah C. Gibson then arose and sustained the above resolutions with a lengthy, able, and argumentative speech. After Mr. Gibson had concluded, the chairman arose and made a few very pertinent remarks and gave in his adhesion to the Resolutions.

The Resolutions were then put upon their passage when they were unanimously adopted. On motion it was requested that the papers in Macon publish the foregoing proceedings and Resolutions, and that copies of them be sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

On motion of Mr. John J. Cary after an able speech by him, the meeting adjourned.

ROBERT COLLER, *Chairman*.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY MARCH 15, 1849.

The long succession of Democratic rulers has at length been broken. Mr. Polk has laid aside, and General Taylor has put on that striking likeness of a kingly crown which our Republican rulers are permitted to wear. But, though an undoubted change has taken place in the person of our chief magistrate, and a presumed one in his political principles, the Dynasty remains the same, and one slaveholder has quietly taken the place of another in the Presidential chair. Whatever doubts there may be with regard to some articles of the Constitution, it seems to be generally understood that there exists somewhere in that august instrument a provision settling the order of succession in the Southern line. It is an instrument on which the politician's cunning finger can play what stop he please—only it must be to a slaveholding tune.

As far as the North is concerned, General Taylor comes into office as the avowed opponent of the extension of Slavery. The assertions of the Whig press upon this point were unanimous throughout the Free States, and here and there a fortunate gentleman carried in his pocket a letter from the candidate provisionally defining his position as President. These letters the intelligent voters of the country were not permitted to see, and we have very great doubts whether they will ever form part of any collection which some future Sparks may make of the writings of the second father of his country. It was enough that they entirely satisfied the Anti Slavery requirements of such original (highly original) Abolitionists as Mr. Lawrence. It has been an honour to that gentleman, and a benefit to the community that his pocket has not generally been so retentive or so tightly buttoned as on this particular occasion.

But General Taylor is the representative of the Whig party, and that party has hitherto been *the* Anti-Slavery party of the country. It has battled for the Right of Petition, and has elected such men as John Quincy Adams, Giddings, and Palfrey. This was to a certain extent true as long as the Whigs stood in need of Anti-Slavery aid, and thought that aid worth bidding for. At that time not Garrison, himself, could have been more bitter in denouncing the unholy alliance between Northern Democracy and Southern Patriarchalism. But this was the jealousy of disappointed rivalry. The South, fickle in everything but devotion to itself, and the Whig party, destitute of every principle but that of self-preservation, have struck up a match. The Whigs, compulsory renegades from Anti-Slavery doctrines which they never sincerely believed in, assail the consistent men in their late party with all that blustering rancour with which renegades endeavour to bewilder themselves out of the feeling of their own self-contempt. Having caught their fish, they toss regardlessly overboard the bait no longer fresh. They would make an *auto de fe* of Mr. Giddings and Palfrey if they had the power and the opportunity. It would be laughable were it not disgusting to read the diatribes of some of the editorial turncoats. It is common to call such personages Benedict Arnolds and Judases. But the memory even of traitors should be treated with justice. Arnold was a man of ability, and Judas had so much right feeling left in him as to go and hang himself. We can only say that if the Whig party paid thirty pieces of silver (even of the smallest denomination) for some of these gentry, they paid a most unconscionable price.

In speaking of parties, it is only just to make a distinction between the leaders and the led. We believe that the majority of the Whig party, at the North, have never been dissatisfied with anything but the meagreness of the Anti-Slavery diet allowed them by their providers. But the masses of a party are necessarily passive, and not active politicians. They are accustomed to order and subordination, and to have their work cut out for them by the comparatively few who make politics their profession. Discipline is as necessary as in an army. They obey orders without asking any questions. The officers of this great voting militia are men who embark in politics as in any other trade. In the ordinary transactions of life they have morals as high as the cis-penitentiary degree, enough, that is, to keep them out of State's Prison But in politics they make no scruple to lie, to bear false witness, to forge, to obtain votes under false pretences. If successful, they enjoy a four year's quiet to plunder and to be forgotten in. At the end of that time, the people are ready to be swindled and they to swindle again.

The Whig managers have now fairly gone over to the South, and the party has instinctively followed. *We have gained a great victory*, say the managers, but over whom and for what, the party has as little idea as the boy Peterkin in Southey's ballad. Over the principles they have professed for the last ten years, we should be inclined to say. The child who goes for the first time to the wharf and sees the troop of urchins busy with their sticks at the bungs of the molasses-hogsheads, says to himself—why, *this is stealing!* But presently the impulse of gregariousness seizes him. The sin, dissipated among so many blithesome perpetrators, loses its intensity and sharpness of outline. Divided among so many it becomes infinitesimal. Presently he takes a small stick, and, by and by, as long a one as he can get, and is as busy as the rest. Still, he reserves to himself a conscience, and regards as disreputable petty larceners those who transfer their luscious booty to a kettle. These are the abstruser distinctions of ethics. The Whigs saw the Democrats enjoying the plunder won by base compliance with Slavery. At first they only remarked the compliance, but, ceasing gradually to be shocked at what they habitually witnessed, they at last beheld nothing but the plunder.

So far, then, from expecting any Anti-Slavery measures from the Whig party, we shall be surprised if their movement be not henceforth decidedly retrograde They have taken the costly first step. They have already undergone that initial slump in the mire, after which one is careless about picking his steps. The fact that General Taylor has summoned to his cabinet as prime minister a gentleman who, as Senator, has proposed a compromise on the question of Slavery in the territories, indicates the future policy of the administration. It remains to be seen whether the hope of Government patronage, and the desire of preserving the integrity of the party, will furnish the President with a compliant House of Representatives.

General Taylor has all along professed his entire unfitness for the office to which he has been promoted, and his unwillingness to ascend the dangerous elevation of the Presidency This petty affectation of coyness he has kept up even on his way to Washington. It is like the *nolo episcopari* of a bishop. He pointed out a log cabin on the banks of the Ohio, and informed his admiring hearers that he would rather occupy that mansion than the White House. It would be a matter of economy in Congress to make an appropriation for building him such a dwelling at Washington. We confess that this cant of the General has not tended to convince us of that straightforward sense and frankness which has been so liberally attributed to him. Our public men are not so shy of the Presidency that it would have been difficult to find another candidate if the General had resolutely resisted. He reversed the Irishman's bull, and, instead of being forced to volunteer, volunteered to be forced.

No augury of the President's future conduct can be drawn from an inspection of the entrails of his inaugural discourse. It has the merit of brevity, a questionable one, after all, when it is not combined with fullness of meaning. Major Bliss *can* express himself with distinctness, witness some of his despatches to the War Department. The Whigs profess to see in the address a reduction of the golden age of the Republic, and cry with one accord, *redeunt Saturnia regna!* The general declares that he shall be governed by the Constitution, and, where there is doubt, that he shall follow the interpretation of the earlier Presidents, particularly Washington. Where these guides are wanting he will submit himself to the decision of the Supreme Court. Unsafe pledges these in the matter of Slavery. The question of its extension had not arisen in Washington's time, and a majority of the Supreme Judges are slaveholders. As to the General's own opinions on this subject, we can only judge them by the fact that he has extended the institution over something like a hundred new victims since he became a candidate for the Presidency. But we must wait and see. An Inaugural Address is no safe criterion. We have no doubt that the speech of his majesty King Stork on ascending the throne of the frogs was as liberal and as full of respect for the Constitution as that of his predecessor King Log.—J. R. L.

LETTER OF HENRY CLAY.—That Henry Clay should have written the letter which we copy below we hold to be a thing to be thankful for—not because the letter is a good thing in itself—not because it will aid the cause of Liberty—not because the heart of a single slave will beat the quicker for it, or the pulse of one of his friend's will give one throb the more—not because there is one generous sentiment in it to commend the admiration of generous men—nor because it will raise its author one iota in the estimation of men of cool judgments, and warm hearts—but simply because Henry Clay could not choose but write it. The time compelled him to another declaration than that his slaves were fat and sleek, and he was obedient to the time. It was on the 7th of February 1839 that Mr. Clay made his great speech on the question of Slavery in the Senate of the United States; we rejoice that ten years and ten days has worked this change in him, or about him.

We do not mean, however, to dismiss the letter with a paragraph, and this week we have room for nothing more. The letter was received in this city by Telegraph on Saturday last, but we copy it, as it is published in the Western papers, from the *Lexington* (Ky.) *Observer and Reporter* as follows:

IMPORTANT LETTER FROM MR. CLAY—HIS VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY AND PLAN OF EMANCIPATION.

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 17, 1849.

DEAR SIR:—Prior to my departure from home in December last, in behalf of yourself and other friends, you obtained from me a promise to make a public exposition of my views and opinions upon a grave and important question which it was thus anticipated, would be much debated and considered by the people of Kentucky during this year, in consequence of the approaching Convention summoned to amend the present Constitution. I was not entirely well when I left home, and owing to that cause, and my confinement several weeks during my sojourn in this city, from the effects of an accident which befell me, I have been delayed in the fulfillment of my promise, which I now propose to execute.

The question to which I allude is whether African Slavery, as it now exists in Kentucky, shall be left to a perpetual or indefinite continuance, or some provision shall be made in the new constitution for its gradual and ultimate extinction?

A few general observations will suffice my present purpose, without entering on the whole subject of Slavery, under all its bearings, and in every aspect of it.—I am aware that there are respectable persons who believe that Slavery is a blessing, that the institution ought to exist in every well organized society, and that it is even favourable to the preservation of liberty.—Happily, the number who entertain these extravagant opinions is not very great, and the time would be uselessly occupied in an elaborate refutation of them. I would, however, remark that, if Slavery be fraught with these alleged benefits, the principle on which it is maintained would require that one portion of the white race should be reduced to bondage to serve another portion of the same race, when black subjects of Slavery could not be obtained, and that in Africa, where they may entertain as great a preference for their colour as we do for ours, they would be justified in reducing the white race to Slavery, in order to secure the blessings which that state is said to diffuse.

An argument, in support of reducing the African race to Slavery, is sometimes derived from their alleged intellectual inferiority to the white races; but, if this argument be founded in fact, (as it may be, but which I shall not now examine,) it would prove entirely too much. It would prove that any white nation, which had made greater advances in civilization, knowledge and wisdom than another white nation, would have a right to reduce the latter to a state of bondage. Nay, farther, if the principle of subjugation founded upon intellectual superiority be true, and be applicable to races and to nations, what is to prevent its being applied to individuals? And then the wisest man in the world would have a right to make slaves of all the rest of mankind!

If, indeed, we possess this intellectual superiority, profoundly grateful and thankful to Him who has bestowed it, we ought to fulfil all the obligations and duties which it imposes, and these would require us not to subjugate or deal unjustly with our fellow men who are less blessed than we are, but to instruct, to improve and to enlighten them.

A vast majority of the People of the United States, in every section of them, I believe, regret the introduction of Slavery into the Colonies, under the authority of our British ancestors, lament that a single slave treads our soil, deplore the necessity of the continuance of Slavery in any of the States, regard the institution as a great evil to both races, and would rejoice in the adoption of any safe, just and practicable plan for the removal of all Slaves from among us. Hitherto no such satisfactory plan has been presented. When, on the occasion of the formation of our present Constitution of Kentucky in 1799, the question of the gradual emancipation of Slavery in the State was agitated, its friends had to encounter a great obstacle, in the fact that there then existed no established Colony to which they could be transported. Now, by the successful establishment of flourishing Colonies on the Western Coast of Africa, that difficulty has been obviated. And I confess that, without indulging in any undue feelings of superstition, it does seem to me that it may have been among the dispensations of Providence to permit the wrongs under which Africa has suffered to be inflicted that her children might be returned to their original home civilized and imbued with the benign spirit of Christianity, and prepared ultimately to redeem that great Continent from barbarism and idolatry.

6. Without undertaking to judge for any other State, it was in my opinion in 1799, that Kentucky was in a condition to admit of the gradual emancipation of her slaves; and how deeply do I lament that a system, with that object, had not been then established! If it had been, the State would now be nearly rid of all slaves. My opinion has never changed, and I have frequently publicly expressed it. I should be most happy if what was impracticable at that epoch could now be accomplished.

7. After full and deliberate consideration of the subject, it appears to me three principles should regulate the establishment of a system of Gradual Emancipation.—The first is, that it should be slow in its operation, cautious, and gradual, so as to occasion, no convulsion, nor any rash or sudden disturbance in the existing habits of society. Second, that, as an indispensable condition, the emancipated slaves should be removed from the State to some Colony. And, thirdly, that the expenses of their transportation to such colony, including an outfit for six months after their arrival at it, should be defrayed by a fund to be raised from the labour of each freed slave.

8. Nothing could be more unwise than the immediate liberation of all the slaves in the State, comprehending both sexes and all ages, from that of tender infancy to extreme old age. It would lead to the most frightful and fatal consequences. Any great change in the condition of society should be marked by extreme care and circumspection. The introduction of slaves into the Colonies was an operation of many years' duration; and the work of their removal from the United States can only be effected after the lapse of a great length of time.

I think that a period should be fixed when all born after it should be free at a specified age, all born before it remaining slaves for life. That period I would suggest should be 1855 or even 1860; for on this and other arrangements of the system, if adopted, I incline to a liberal margin, so as to obviate as many objections, and to unite as many opinions as possible. Whether the commencement of the operation of the system be a little earlier or later, is not so important as that a day should be permanently *fixed*, from which we could look forward, with confidence, to the final termination of Slavery within the limits of the Commonwealth.

Whatever may be the day fixed, whether 1855 or 1860, or any other day, all born after it, I suggest, should be free at the age of twenty-five, but be liable afterwards to be hired out, under the authority of the State, for a term not exceeding three years, in order to raise a sum sufficient to pay the expenses of their transportation to the Colony and to provide them an outfit for six months after their arrival there.

If the descendants of those, who were themselves to be free, at the age of twenty-five were also to be considered as slaves until they attained the same age, and this rule were continued indefinitely as to time, it is manifest that Slavery would be perpetuated instead of being terminated. To guard against this consequence, provisions might be made that the offspring of those, who were to be free at twenty-five, should be free, from their birth, but upon the condition that they should be apprenticed until they were twenty-one and be also afterwards liable to be hired out, a period not exceeding three years for the purpose of raising funds to meet the expenses to the Colony and their subsistence for the first six months.

The Pennsylvania system of Emancipation fixed the period of twenty-eight for the liberation of the slaves, and provided, or her Courts have since interpreted the system to mean, that the issue of all who were to be free at the limited age, were from their births free. The Pennsylvania system made no provision for Colonization.

Until the commencement of the system which I am endeavouring to sketch, I think all the legal rights of the proprietors of slaves, in their fullest extent, ought to remain unimpaired and unrestricted. Consequently they would have the right to sell, devise, or remove them from the State, and, in the latter case, without their offspring being entitled to the benefit of Emancipation, for which the system provides.

2d. The colonization of the free blacks, as they successively arrived from year to year, at the age entitling them to freedom, I consider a condition absolutely indispensible. Without it I should be utterly opposed to any scheme of Emancipation. One hundred and ninety odd thousand blacks, composing about one fourth of the entire population of the State, with their descendants could never live in peace, harmony and equality with the residue of the population. The colour, passions and prejudices would forever prevent the two races from living together in a state of cordial union. Social, moral and political degradation would be the inevitable lot of the coloured race. Even in the Free States (I use the terms Free and Slave States not in any sense derogatory from one class, or implying any superiority in the other, but for the sake of brevity) that is their present condition. In some of those Free States the penal legislation against the people of colour is quite as severe, if not harsher than it is in some of the Slave States. And no where in the United States are amalgamation and equality between the two races possible, it is better that there should be a separation, and that the African descendants should be returned to the native land of their fathers.

It would have been seen that the plan I have suggested proposes the annual transportation of all born after a specified day, upon their arrival at the prescribed age, to the Colony which may be selected for their destination, and that this process of transportation is to be continued until the separation of the two races is completed. If the emancipated slaves were to remain in Kentucky until they attained the age of 28, it would be about 34 years before the first annual transportation begins, if the system commence in 1855, and about 39 years if its operation begin in 1860.

What the number thus to be annually transported would be, cannot be precisely ascertained. I observe it stated by the Auditor, that the increase of slaves in Kentucky last year was between three and four thousand. But, as that statement was made upon a comparison of the aggregate number of all the slaves in the State, without regard to births, it does not, I presume, exhibit truly the *natural* increase, which was probably larger. The aggregate was affected by the introduction, and still more by the exportation of slaves. I suppose that there would not be less, probably more, than five thousand to be transported the first year of the operation of the system; but after it was in progress some years, there would be a constant diminution of the number.

Would it be practicable annually to transport 5,000 persons from Kentucky? There cannot be a doubt of it—or even a much larger number. We receive from Europe annually immigrants to an amount exceeding 250,000, at a cost for the passage of about $10 per head, and they embark at European ports more distant from the United States than the Western coast of Africa. It is true that the commercial marine employed between Europe and the United States affords facilities in the transportation of emigrants, at that low rate, which that engaged in the commerce between Liberia and this country does not now supply. But that commerce is increasing, and by the time the proposed system, if adopted, would go into operation, it will have greatly augmented. If there were a certainty of the annual transportation of not less than five thousand persons to Africa, it would create a demand for transports, and the spirit of competition would, I have no doubt, greatly diminish the present cost of the passage. That cost has been stated, including the passage and six months' outfit after the arrival of the emigrant in Africa. Whatever may be the cost, and whatever the number to be transported, the fund to be raised by the hire of the liberated slaves, for a period not exceeding three years, will be amply sufficient. The annual hire on the average may be estimated at $50, or $150 for the whole term.

Colonization will be attended with the painful effect of the separation of the colonists from their parents, and in some instances from their children; but from the latter it will be only temporary, as they will follow and be again re-united. Their separation from their parents will not be until after they have attained a mature age, nor greater than voluntarily takes place with emigrants from Europe, who leave their parents behind. It will be far less distressing than what frequently occurs in the state of Slavery, and will be attended with the animating encouragement that the colonists are transferred from a land of bondage and degradation for them, to a land of liberty and equality.

And 3d, the expense of transporting the liberated slave to the Colony, and of maintaining him there for six months, I think, ought to be provided for by a fund derived from his labour in the manner already indicated. He is the party most benefitted by emancipation. It would not be right to subject the non-slaveholder to any part of that expense; and the slaveholder will have made sufficient sacrifices, without being exclusively burdened with taxes to raise that fund. The emancipated slaves could be hired out for the time proposed, by the Sheriff or other public agent, in each county, who should be subject to strict accountability. And it would be requisite that there should be kept a register of all the births of all children of colour, after the day fixed for the commencement of the system, enforced by appropriate sanctions. It would be a very desirable regulation of law to have births, deaths and marriages, of the whole population of the State, registered and preserved, as is done in most well-governed States.

Among other considerations which unite in recommending to the State of Kentucky a system for the gradual abolition of Slavery, is that arising out of her exposed condition affording great facilities to the escape of her slaves into the Free States and into Canada. She does not enjoy the security which some of the Slave States have, by being covered in depth by two or three Slave States intervening between them and Free States. She has a greater length of border on Free States than any other Slave State in the Union. That border is the Ohio River, extending from the mouth of Big Sandy to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance of near 600 miles—separating her from the already powerful and growing States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Vast numbers of slaves have fled from most of the counties in Kentucky from the mouth of Big Sandy to the mouth of Miami and the evil has increased and is increasing. Attempt to recover the fugitives lead to most painful and irritating collisions. Hitherto countenance and assistance to the fugitives have been chiefly afforded by persons in the State of Ohio; but it is to be apprehended, from the progressive opposition to Slavery, that, in process of time, similar facilities to the escape of slaves would be found in the States of Indiana and Illinois. By means of railroads, Canada can be reached from Cincinnati in a little more than 24 hours.

In the event of a civil war breaking out, or in the more dreadful event of a dissolution of the Union in consequence of the existence of Slavery, Kentucky would become the theatre and bear the brunt of the war. She would doubtless defend herself with her known valour and gallantry; but the superiority of the numbers by which she would be opposed would lay waste and devastate her fair fields. Her sister Slave States would fly to her succor; but even if they should be successful in the unequal conflict, she never could obtain any indemnity for the inevitable ravages of the war.

It may be urged that we ought not, by the gradual abolition of Slavery, to separate ourselves from the other Slave States, but continue to share with them in all their future fortunes. The power of each Slave State, within its limits, over the institution of Slavery, is absolute, supreme, and exclusive—exclusive of that of Congress or that of any other State. The Government of each Slave State is bound by the highest and most solemn obligations to dispose of the question of Slavery, so as best to promote the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the people of the State. Kentucky being essentially a farming State, slave labour is less profitable. If, in most of the other Slave States, they find that labour more profitable, in the culture of the staples of cotton and sugar, they may perceive a reason in that feeling for continuing Slavery which cannot be expected should control the judgment of Kentucky, as to what may be fitting and proper for her interests. If she should abolish Slavery, it would be her duty, and I trust that she would be as ready, as she now is, to defend the Slave States in the enjoyment of all their lawful and constitutional rights. Her power, political and physical, would be greatly increased; for one hundred and ninety odd thousand slaves and their descendants, would be gradually superseded by an equal number of white inhabitants, who would be estimated per capita, and not by the federal rule of three fifths prescribed for the coloured race in the Constitution of the United States.

I have thus, without reserve, freely expressed my opinion and presented my views. The interesting subject of which I have treated would have admitted of much enlargement, but I have desired to consult brevity. The plan, which I have proposed, will hardly be accused of being too early in its commencement, or too rapid in its operation. It will be more likely to meet with contrary reproaches. If adopted, it is to begin thirty-four or thirty-nine years from the time of its adoption, as the one period or the other shall be selected for its commencement. How long a time it will take to remove all the coloured race from the State, by the annual transportation of each year's natural increase, cannot be exactly ascertained. After the system had been in operation some years, I think it probable, from the manifest blessings that would flow from it, from the diminished value of slave labour, and from the humanity and benevolence of private individuals prompting a liberation of their slaves and their transportation, a general disposition would exist to accelerate and complete the work of colonization.

That the system will be attended with some sacrifices on the part of slaveholders, which are to be regretted, need not be denied. What great and beneficial enterprise was ever accomplished without risk and sacrifice? But these sacrifices are distant, contingent and inconsiderable. Assuming the year 1860 for the commencement of the system, all slaves born prior to that time would remain such during their lives, and the personal loss of the slaveholder would be only the difference in value of a female slave whose offspring, if she had any, born after the first day of January, 1860, should be free at the age of twenty-five, or should be slaves for life. In the mean time, if the right to remove or sell the slave out of the State, should be exercised, that trifling loss would not be incurred. The slaveholder, after the commencement of the system, would lose the difference in value between slaves for life and slaves until the age of twenty-five. He might also incur some inconsiderable expense in rearing, from their birth, the issue of those who were to be free at twenty-five, until they were old enough to be apprenticed out; but as it is probable that they would be most generally bound to him, he would receive some idemnity from their services, until they attained their majority.

Most of the evils, losses and misfortunes of human life have some compensation or alleviation. The slaveholder is generally a landholder, and I am persuaded that he would find, in the augmented value of his land, some, if not full indemnity for losses arising to him from emancipation and colonization. He would also liberally share in the general benefits accruing to the whole State, from the extinction of Slavery. These have been so often and so fully stated, that I will not, nor is it necessary to dwell upon them extensively. They may be summed up in a few words. We shall remove from among us the contaminating influences of a servile and degraded race of different colour; we shall enjoy the proud and conscious satisfaction of placing that race where they can enjoy the great blessings of liberty, and civil, political and social equality; we shall acquire the advantage of the diligence, the fidelity and the constancy of free labour, instead of the carelessness, the infidelity and the unsteadiness of slave labour; we shall elevate the character of white labour, and elevate the social condition of the white labourer; augment the value of our lands, improve the agriculture of the State, attract capital from abroad to all the pursuits of commerce, manufactures and agriculture; redressed, as far and as fast as we prudently could, any wrongs which the descendants of Africa have suffered at our hands, and we should demonstrate the sincerity with which we pay indiscriminate homage to the great cause of the liberty of the human race.

Kentucky enjoys high respect and honourable consideration throughout the Union and throughout the civilized world; but, in my humble opinion, no title which she has to the esteem and admiration of mankind, no deeds of her former glory would equal, in greatness and grandeur, that of being the pioneer State in removing from her soil every trace of human Slavery, and in establishing the descendants of Africa, within her jurisdiction, in the native land of their forefathers.

I have thus executed the promise I made, alluded to in the commencement of this letter, and I hope that I have done it calmly, free from intemperance, and so as to wound the sensibilities of none. I sincerely hope that the question may be considered and decided, without the influence of party or passion. I should be most happy to have the good fortune of coinciding in opinion with a majority of the people of Kentucky; but, if there be a majority opposed to all schemes of gradual emancipation, however much I may regret it, my duty will be to bow in submission to their will.

If it be perfectly certain and manifest that such a majority exists I should think it better not to agitate the question at all since that, in that case, it would be useless, and might exercise a pernicious collateral influence upon the fair consideration of other amendments, which may be proposed to our Constitution. If there be a majority of the people of Kentucky at this time, adverse to touching the institution of Slavery, as it now exists, we, who had thought and wished otherwise, can only indulge the hope that, at some future time, under better auspices and with the blessings of Providence, the cause, which we have so much at heart, may be attended with better success.

In any event, I shall have the satisfaction of having performed a duty to the State, to the subject, and to myself, by placing my sentiments permanently upon record.

With great regard, I am your friend and obedient servant, H. CLAY.

RICHARD PINDELL, Esq.

FLORENCE SETTLEMENT.—We have observed in several papers, of late, notices of a scheme, for the establishment of a Colony, to be settled at Florence, in the county of Oneida in this State, under the management of Stephen Myers, a coloured man of Albany; and, we have been inquired of as to the character and probable success of such an undertaking. The agents of Myers, we understand, are travelling about the country collect ing money among the friends of the coloured people, to aid his project, and will without doubt, meet with a good deal of success, unless some measures are taken to put the public on its guard. We know nothing of Myers, and from personal inquiry nothing of his plans, but we hear them pronounced as a snare by coloured men in whom we have confidence; and the following letter from Gerrit Smith, which we copy from the *North Star*, is evidently intended to expose the whole affair as another attempt to play upon public sympathy, and collect money under false pretences:

Letter from Gerrit Smith.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.—I learn from the account of the Pittsfield meeting, in your last paper, as well as from numerous other sources, that I am supposed to be a large landholder in Florence, N. Y. I formerly held some eighteen thousand acres in that town. I have, however, but a few hundred acres left in it.

There is a strong disposition in some quarters to have the coloured people purchase the lands which I have left in Florence. But these lands are of very moderate fertility, are not favourably situated, and are held by my agent, who resides in that town, at prices probably quite equal to their value. Why then should the coloured people buy them?

It may be very well for the coloured people to emigrate to lands which are given to them, even if they are of inferior quality, as are most of the lands which I have given them. But when the coloured people buy lands, and especially at their full value. I think they should buy such as are fertile, easy of cultivation, and advantageously situated, Very respectfully, your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

Peterboro, Feb. 24, 1849.

WHAT CONGRESS DID NOT DO.—The late Congress did very little else than to pass appropriations bills for its own payment, so that it is easier to tell what it did, than what it did not do. But among the various public measures which were before it, and which go over to be settled or left unsettled by the Taylor dynasty, are the following:

1. The Canada Reciprocity Bill.
2. The Panama Bill.
3. The Tehuantepec Scheme.
4. The bill of cheap postages.
5. The Continental Central Railroad Bill of Mr. Benton.
6. Mr. Whitney's Bill.
7. The Bill for the cripples of the Army.
8. The territorial bills of all sorts.
9. The bill for the abolition of the Slave Trade in the District, and all other Slavery bills.

Beside there were some hundreds of private bills, many of which may be of immense consequence to those whom they concern,—though this Congress is not singular in not permitting any consideration of that sort to have much weight with it.

THE CONGRESSIONAL FIGHTS.—A row on the floor of Congress is no more to be wondered at than one in any of the vilest purlieus of this city, or anywhere at the South. The life of a slaveholder is little else than a row from the first time his hand is raised to whip a 'nigger,' to his last duel, and that portion of it that is spent in making laws for this great nation, is not, and never has been, an exception. To clap a huge Congressional wafer upon the bald head of an obnoxious Northern member, in his seat on the floor of the House; to threaten to cut out the heart, or blow out the brains, or cut the throat of any one who may offend these overseers, are only the ordinary manners and morals which reign supreme in the Halls of our National Legislature. One is no more surprised at them than at the use of the Cat-o'nine-tails on a Southern plantation. The particulars of such rows are no more worthy of being described, for their rarity, or because they had any other origin than a general spirit of rowdyism and ruffianism, than any of the daily fights at the Five-Points in this city. They belong to the place in both cases.

The fights, however, which occurred on the last night of the late session, have a significance, which, if it has ever belonged to such scenes before, in Washington has never been made so apparent. When it has been necessary to secure her ascendancy, the South has beaten or killed a man to ensure submission, but she has never before shown so plainly that she is deliberately determined to have her way by foul means, when seemingly fair ones will not answer her purpose. The Washington correspondent of the *Commercial Advertiser* in relation to these fights says:

The fights and personal collisions which occurred on the floors of both Houses are deeply to be deplored, but they should not be forgotten. The facts concerning those which took place in the House develop not only an unamiable, but a most alarming state of feeling as existing there. The difficulty between Mr. Giddings and Mr. Meade took place at about ten o'clock, when the Southern members, after having been at one time in the evening elated to a high degree by what they thought almost the certainty of success in their most cherised plans, began to fear that the chances of final success inclined to their adversaries. Mr. Giddings sits near the Speaker's chair on the left; Mr. Meade almost directly in front of it, not far removed. Between their seats is the open semi-circular area before the clerks' desk.—Mr. Giddings crossed over to the desk of Mr. Turner of Illinois, zealously engaged in coöperation with Mr. G. and others in the effort to strike off the Senate amendment or to defeat the bill. Mr. G. asked Mr. Turner, who is a Democrat, if the Locofocos on his side of the House were as good humoured as the Whigs on the other. Mr. T. replied that they were not, that they were very much exasperated. Mr. Giddings said that was not good policy: that there was no need of passion.

Mr. Meade was sitting near, in his own seat. He said, seeming to address himself in part to Mr. G. and in part to another gentleman, that the only way to manage the scoundrels was to put them in bodily fear, to make them understand that, if they persisted in their factious and incendiary course, they were doing so at the risk of their lives. He was understood to refer to the contest then going on. Mr. Giddings turned to him and said that that would hardly effect any good purpose; that the best way would be to be calm, to contest the matter with mild firmness, as long as there was a fair hope of success, and to yield with a good grace when it became inevitable. Mr. Meade then sprang to his feet and seized Mr. Giddings by the collar, swearing with bitter oaths that if he uttered another word he would cut his heart out. The members who interfered say that Mr. G. had his hand clenched, in the attitude of a man about to strike. Had he done so he would have been justified, and his assailant would have been desperately hurt, for Mr. G. is a man of Herculean mould, and his antagonist was so paralyzed with rage as to be totally powerless.—Had Meade's ideas of legislation been carried out, the proceedings would have been brought to a summary close, by a fearful riot, in the early part of the evening.

The incidents of the fight between Messrs. R. W. Johnson and Ficklin betrayed a similar spirit. It arose in an altercation between the two upon a petty resolution offered by the former and defeated. From words they quickly came to blows. These would of course have been terminated immediately by the interference of members, but Mr. Inge of Alabama, a remarkably quiet and gentlemanly man in appearance, reached up and struck Mr. F. on the forehead with a small iron cane which he carries. After the affair was over, he composedly answered the inquiries of the curious by saying that he had been expecting a row the whole evening, between the North and the South, and thought this was the beginning of it. His only impulse was to assist a friend from the South. *Naïve* as this confession was, it doubtless most truly indicated a very prevalent feeling among the younger members of the Southern delegations. This man had probably heard Mr. Meade's remarks. Perhaps they had been partly addressed to him, as his seat is in that vicinity. The awful consequences that might have resulted from the merest accidental collision, at such a time, any one may imagine. It would not be easy to exaggerate them.

☞ A vagabond, calling himself George Dutton, a well-known coloured man who has for some months past represented himself both here and in Philadelphia as a fugitive slave, and imposed, by such a story, upon many benevolent people, was sent to Blackwell's Island, a few days since, for six months as a vagrant. Dutton has been more than once exposed by Abolitionists who have been called upon for aid or advice by persons who have been deceived by his specious stories, and several times warned to quit his course of life and resort to some more honest method of getting a living. He, however, persisted in playing fugitive, till so many complaints were made that it was determined to make an example of him. He was brought to this office by a gentleman supposing him to be, as he represented, a fugitive, in need of assistance, and desirous of getting North, when an officer was procured, and he was taken to the Court of Sessions, and immediately sentenced to Blackwell's Island. Cases of imposture of this character are by no means rare, and it is high time, for the sake of the real fugitive, that they were put a stop to. Whenever an imposter can be detected he should be at once complained of and committed as a vagrant.

☞ A bill has passed the Legislature of Delaware, empowering the magistrates of the State to arrest all free negroes who have no apparent occupation, or means of subsistence, and hire them out for a term of service not exceeding a year. The law, it is said, has caused a good deal of dissatisfaction among the people of Delaware.

☞ EDWARD A. HANNEGAN, United States Senator from Indiana, and, next to Dickinson of this State, the most pliant tool of the slave-power in the last Congress, was rewarded by Mr. Polk, as the death-bed act of his official life, with the appointment of Minister to Prussia. The Senate confirmed it.

The *Pennsylvania Freeman* mentioned, not long since, the arrest of some coloured persons who were guilty of being frozen up in a creek, on board their vessel, and thereby infringing the laws of the Christian republic of Maryland, for which they were to be sold as slaves for life if unable to satisfy the fine to which such a misdemeanor subjected them. Thomas Garrett of Wilmington, Delaware, gives in the last *Freeman* the particulars of the case as follows:

"A flat boat belonging to Thomas Walters of Wilmington had been chartered some time in November, by John L. Passmore of Kingsessing, Pa. to go to Harford county, Md. for logs. The captain Jesse Mode, and crew—Levi Loveland, Richard Morris, and Samuel Brown, were coloured men. The captain states that they went at the time agreed upon, to Swan creek, and took in their load before the navigation closed; but, owing to Passmore's neglect to appear and pay a balance due upon it, they were not permitted to leave until the cold weather came on, and they were frozen in. They remained on board, taking care of the vessel for five or six weeks, when they were arrested by a petty constable named Thomas Willey. He released the captain, who was an old and infirm man, after taking from him ten dollars, all the money he had. The young men were taken before a magistrate named Kent Mitchell, who seems to have been a kind of Justice Fang, and, like the constable, a fitting officer to execute slaveholding laws, and were fined $20 and costs, and not being able to pay the fines, they were thrown into the county jail, and condemned to be sold as slaves to the highest bidder. From this fate they were saved by a few benevolent individuals in Wilmington, who raised money, and paid the fines and expenses, which amounted to nearly $117,00: the jailer charging about $4 1-2 a week to each man for his board in jail. The accomodations to coloured people in a Maryland jail must be peculiarly comfortable and elegant, if we may judge from their cost. It is said that Justice Mitchell, on learning that constable Willey had taken all the old captain's money from him, directed him to give back six dollars of the ten, thinking, perhaps, that the constable was getting a better haul than himself, or that an old and infirm man without money would be of no profit to the county."

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The Fugitive in Canada.

The *Montreal Herald* reports an interesting and important debate in the Assembly of the Provincial Parliament on a bill for the arrest of offenders from the United States. Mr. La Fontaine, a member, said in relation to the object of the bill, that "the treaty of extradition of 1842 was not perfected till the bill of last year was passed at Washington, at

the laws, but against his inhuman master who, in nine cases out of ten, got immediate possession of the slave on his being delivered up by the Canadian authorities, without the law's taking any cognizance of the pretended crime.

Mr. Attorney General Baldwin said the question involved in this discussion was; is it or is it not desirable that a mutual understanding should exist between our own Government and the Government of the Republic, on whose borders we are for the delivering up of fugitives from justice. The Imperial Government, on our behalf and the Government of the United States had mutually come to the determination that it *was* desirable we should mutually give up such fugitives without any exception being made in the treaty, such as was now proposed by the honourable member for Norfolk; and any one knowing the position of the Slavery question on the other side of the lines must be aware that it was utterly impossible that such a provision could have been inserted in the treaty. The treaty of Washington then had been made between the two Governments for a good purpose, viz: the delivering up of persons charged in one country with the commission of a serious offence flying for protection to the other. If then such a provision as this could not be inserted in the treaty of Washington, what would be the effect of attempting to introduce it into this bill. The Imperial Parliament had passed an act in the terms of the treaty, but they have left to the local Government the power of carrying the treaty into effect in such a manner as they might find most convenient. Such was the object of the present bill, but if they attempted to introduce into it, provisions not contained in the Imperial Act and in the treaty of Washington, they would defeat the whole object of that treaty, for the United States Government would not of course consent to such a provision as that now proposed. He should therefore oppose the motion of the honourable member for Norfolk.

Mr. H. J. Boulton remarked that if the Act of Parliament had been so badly managed as to be inoperative, it required the assistance of the Provincial Parliament to do that which the act of the Imperial Parliament could not effect. He would therefore give this assistance only so far as it was just and advisable to do so. The honourable member for Durham thought he was prepared to give greater lenity to a slave than to a free man. Well, he held that a poor slave wanted more aid and much more assistance than a free man. Was it for a free British Legislature to aid those who had perhaps cut a poor slave in two with cowhides; who made it penal to teach a black man to read—who had lately sent a woman to prison for teaching a man to read the scriptures?—to aid these men to recover their victims? He had shown that formerly this act had indirectly led to murder in Upper Canada; and at any rate he wished the Government not to be bound, as they would be by this act; to give up fugitive slaves, accused of crimes. If a ship went from Quebec to Charleston, or New Orleans with a black cook on board, that man was imprisoned till the vessel sailed. What respect did that show to the rights of nations—the comity of nations—or the privileges of a foreign nation? Why then should we be so tender on this subject of Slavery. He would be glad to see the slaves make the houses of their masters too hot to hold them, and then they might be forced to that which humanity could not induce them to do. He read with pleasure that day, that Mr. Cassius Clay was likely to obtain a convention in Kentucky, to consider the best means of doing away with Slavery. He would do nothing whatever to deliver slaves to their masters.

Mr. Wilson could not read this law as it had been explained by the honourable member. He could not understand how it applied to a slave who might from hate rankling in his heart against his master, murder him and then escape. Would it be justice or would it be right to give that man a refuge in this country and refuse to give him up to the country, whose law he had violated by the commission of so diabolical a crime? He thought there was too much mawkish sentimentality on the subject of Slavery, in thus making men irresponsible for any crime they might commit. The mere act of stealing a horse would not, he allowed, be sufficient for this country to give a slave up, but he could not understand how it was possible to refuse to give up a slave who had committed the greater crime of murder.

The bill was then read a second time, and on motion, to be submitted to a Committee of the whole House on Tuesday.

Reviews.

THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.—*February* 1849. *Leonard Scott & Co.* 79 *Fulton street.*—The Publishers have issued an extra number of the North British for February, to meet the demand which will, no doubt, be created by the review contained in it of Macaulay's History. As a writer Macaulay has never been adequately reviewed, nor does the writer in the North British attempt so delicate and difficult a task; but the history itself is made the subject of an excellent paper. To those who have not read the work, the review will serve as a proem, and to those who have, as an agreeable and suggestive reminder of the pleasant and profitable labour which they have just finished. The article is a careful synopsis of the events of the period of which Macaulay treats; and, while it echoes the admiration which the reading would feel for him, does not hesitate to point out, and complain of, what the reviewer conceives to be certain faults of style and execution.

We have had time only to glance at the titles of the other papers in this No. of the North British. They are: The Socialist party in France; Chaucer; Niebuhr; Noel on Union of Church and State; Duke of Argyle on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland; Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell; and Prospects of the Session.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW FOR JANUARY. *L. Scott & Co.* The attention of the American reader will be arrested by the leading paper in the January No. of the Westminster—a review of the Memoir of Dr. Channing. We have seen the article attributed to the Rev. Mr. Martineau, of Liverpool, whose sympathy for Dr. Channing as a Unitarian would rather expose him to the suspicion of being unable to form an unbiased judgment of the character of one from whom his removal by space, he thinks, secures him all the advantages which are supposed to belong only to a removal by time But the warmest admirers only of Dr. Channing—we should say rather the prejudiced friends only—will be disposed to complain that the reviewer does not do full justice to the eminent virtues and signal talents of his subject. Towards the editor of the Memoir of Dr. Channing, we hardly think the reviewer equally just, and are almost disposed to believe him actuated by some personal prejudice rather than the spitit of faithful criticism. That the work is far from perfect, Mr. Channing himself, we have no doubt, would be the first to assert, but we think that no more unjust imputation could be made against him than that he obtrudes views entirely aside from the subject in hand upon the reader. Nor do we think that the charge of stiffness and coldness from the fear of yielding to the impulse of attachment and veneration lies against Mr. Channing; there is nothing, we think, more agreeable in the work, than the graceful and dignified affection which the nephew ever shows towards the uncle, without any of the affectation of being a mere biographer. To the tone of the review, touching the question of Slavery in this country, and the course of Dr. Channing and the Abolitionists, we might, had we space, taken some exception, though the writer is liable to no worse charge than that of venturing strictures upon points of which he evidently wants knowledge to form a fair judgment.

This number deals also, in common with all other English periodicals, with the Irish Difficulties—how, we are not prepared to say, as we confess to not having read the article. The Sea-Serpent question, as one of more easy solution, and as more amusing, has more attractions for us as a Review article. That in this number, we think settles that point;—there is a Sea-Serpent, though the savans have never counted its vertebræ, and the British Museum has not so much as the smallest joint of its tail.

The Life and Works of John Keats adds to the knowledge of this work, which those who have not read the book itself, but do read Messrs. Scott & Co's reprints, possess. The remaining pages are occupied with papers upon Ancient Egypt; Greek and Modern Notation of Music; the Season of Revolutions, and the usual Critical Notices.

THE MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW. *Coolidge & Wiley, Boston. Charles S. Francis & Co. New York.* Were we to find fault with the Mass. Quarterly it would be that there is not enough of it. In the present No. there are three articles only which really make the character of the Review, as the translation of a German Poem, and the Literary Notices, excellent as they are—and especially the latter which give us some knowledge of books which we hear of in no other American periodical—would as well become a Monthly as a Quarterly. We see no periodical published originally in this country that at all compares with the Mass. in vigour of thought, and of style, and in the choice of its subjects. We want more of it.

The leading article in this number is upon the German Revolution of 1848, which lets the reader into something of the mysteries of German politics; but almost everybody, we imagine, will pass it by till they have read the review of Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, evidently by Theodore Parker. The article will hardly conduce to Mr. Parker's popularity among a certain class of people in Boston He is gentle and gentlemanly in his handling of the historian, but little of that which makes that name a distinction is left to Mr. Prescott when the reviewer is done with him In his admirable statement of what history ought to be, one cannot but feel that Mr. Parker had Mr. Macaulay in his mind, had probably just read his history, and that Mr. Prescott needed not even to be contrasted with so brilliant a compeer to be found wanting in the essentials, according to Mr. Parker, of a great historian.

The Discovery of America by the Norsemen brings together all the essential evidence on that point, and not only ably discusses the question whether America was so discovered, but what parts of the Continent the Norsemen really visited. The paper is one of great interest, though it explodes some favourite theories of the antiquaries.

We copy from the *Albany Evening Journal* the following Report, made in the Assembly, on the question of the extension of Slavery into the Territories. It contains some valuable statistics, and sound argument against the extension of Slavery, mixed up with an inordinate amount of absurdity on the question of the establishment of the system in this country, and the relation which the North sustains to it as it exists, is maintained, and guaranteed, at the South, under the Federal Constitution If there be any National villainy, whether of slaves-selling or anything else, that England or any other monarchy, was ever guilty, that can for a moment be compared, in gigantic atrocity, to the aim and end of the Mexican War, it is not laid down in history. The Committee only stultifies itself, in view of the events of the last ten years in this country, by any charges, for any wrong, against other nations, or by attempts to show that we have no moral right to meddle with Slavery: we have no right to do anything else.

Can the *Journal*, by the bye, tell us what has become of the bill for the further protection of personal Liberty, which has also been before that honourable body? We have looked in vain for any account of it since we saw it reported as having passed to its third reading:

REPORT.

MR. BOWEN'S REPORT IN THE ASSEMBLY, FEBRUARY 20, 1849

MR. BOWEN, from the select committee, to which was referred that part of the Governor's Message relative to the introduction of Slavery into the provinces of New Mexico and California, respectfully submits the following report:—

The subject of human bondage has, for many years, engaged the earnest attention of the people of this State. The right of property in man, the influence of Slavery upon the morals and industry of the communities in which it is permitted to exist, its compatibility with the laws of God and the degree of moral responsibility resting upon the people of this State for its continuance, have been topics of deep solicitude and anxious research.

The discussion of these questions has been offensive to citizens of the Southern States. They have viewed the agitation of the subject of Slavery as an attempt to violate their municipal rights and disturb the relations between the master and the slave.

That Slavery is odious to the people of this State cannot be doubted, and believing it to be a great evil, as its first establishment was a heinous crime, they ardently desire its extinction. But while they have endeavoured to show its deleterious effects, they have with but few exceptions, uniformly declared that the observance of good faith, the provisions of the Federal Constitution, and the sovereignty of the States, forbade all interference with it as a State institution.

It needs no argument to prove that the voluntary establishment of Slavery is unjust. Its criminality stands confessed before the world. It is an appalling wrong, which no reasoning can extenuate—no alleged necessity can justify.

The crime of establishing Slavery on the American Continent rests chiefly on the Government of Great Britain.

Prominent among the objects of her statesmen, as a means to enlarge her commerce, was the exclusive possession of the slave trade and the supply of the Colonies of the New World with African slaves. By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1711, the British Government secured the right to bring into the West Indies, belonging "to his Catholic Majesty, in the space of thirty years, one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred in each of the said thirty years." And the Queen, in her speech before Parliament, on the 6th of June, 1712, in terms of satisfaction, states that "the part which we have borne in the prosecution of the war entitling us to some distinction in the terms of peace, I have insisted and obtained that the assiento or contract for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes, shall be made with us for the term of thirty years." And in this new article of commerce, all persons of other nations were strictly forbidden to engage. It was reserved for the exclusive benefit of England, and so profitable was the trade deemed, that the sovereign of Great Britain condescended to become, in her own person, the chief slave trader of the world. Of a company formed to supply the Colonies of America with slaves, Queen Anne subscribed for one quarter of the stock, as well to reap the profits from the adventure, as to encourage her subjects to embark in the enterprise.

Nor was her example without its desired effect upon the loyal hearts of her subjects. They eagerly embarked in a traffic which promised, under the kindly influence of Royalty, to produce enormous gains. The plantations of America, from the St. Lawrence to Georgia, became stocked with negroes in spite of remonstrances from the colonists. Maryland, Virginia and Carolina, in vain endeavoured by laws, by remonstrances and protests, to stop the horrible traffic in human flesh. It was too profitable for the British cupidity to forego. "English ships, fitted out in English cities, under the special favour of the Royal family, of the Ministry and of Parliament, stole from Africa in the years from 1700 to 1750, probably a million and a half of souls," and it is estimated that the returns to English merchants for their trade in human blood was not far from four hundred millions of dollars.

To enlarge this enormous trade, the ingenuity of Parliament was constantly taxed by the British people. They might differ fiercely on the various questions of the day, for it was a time of great political excitement—more than a moiety were touched in their consciences lest they excluded the rightful possessor of the throne—it was the boasted August Age of Britain, and the pages of her poets and moralists were filled with exquisite delineations of virtue and goodness—her christian philanthropy was marked by the establishment of missions for the promulgation of the Gospel—her venerable Bishops were assiduously and anxiously engaged in assuring the colonists that negroes had souls and ought to be baptised, yet all, with one consent, were clamorous for the further extension of the slave trade.

The trade had been restricted, by royal grants to favoured corporations. The sagacity of the English merchants taught them that monopolies were prejudicial to commerce, and they maintained that if the trade were thrown open, a healthful competition would reduce the price of negroes, and ensure an abundant supply. The justice of these representations, seconded by the voice of the people, could not be resisted by an impartial Legislature, ever mindful of the interests of those it represented. Accordingly, in 1750 Parliament passed a law, from which the following is an extract:—

AN ACT FOR EXTENDING AND IMPROVING THE TRADE TO AFRICA.

"Whereas, the trade to and from Africa is very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for supplying the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging with a sufficient number of Negroes at reasonable rates, and for that purpose the said trade ought to be free and open to all his Majesty's subjects, therefore,

Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same; That it shall be lawful for all the King's subjects to trade to and from any place in Africa, between the port of Saltre in South Barbary and the Cape of Good Hope without any restraint whatsoever."

Under this act, the first essay of the British Government in free trade, removing all impediments and restrictions, vessels were fitted out at every port to embark in the gainful traffic. Thus the Parliament of England, by the enactment of laws, her Ministers of State, by instructions and by treaties, her Judges, by their expositions from the bench, and the Sovereign, by commendations from the throne, swelled the horrid trade in human flesh, until it became the chief item in her foreign commerce. An obscure hamlet on the banks of the Mersey, the abode of a few fishermen, was made the depot of the trade. It has risen from the gains of slave stealing to the rank of the first cities of Europe, and now stands in all its pride and wealth a monument of prosperous crime.

It is then on the Government and People of Great Britain that the guilt of establishing Slavery in this country rests. Its establishment without the consent and in many instances against the remonstrances of our people formed one of the justifying causes of the separation of the colonies from Great Britain. The illustrious author of the Declaration of Independence, in the original draft of that remarkable paper, set forth the grievance in this emphatic language:—

"He [the King of Great Britain] has waged cruel war against human nature itself; violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into Slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This practical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit this execrable commerce, and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting these very people to rise in arms among us and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people upon whom he has also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people with crimes, which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries.

One of the last acts of the British Government to the subject Colonies, was the official declaration of the Minister, that "the Government could not allow the colonists to check or discourage in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation." Among the first of the Continental Congress was the resolution, "that no more slaves be imported into these Colonies"

At the Declaration of Independence, Slavery, through the agency of Great Britain prevailed in all the Colonies. There was a sentiment of deep regret among the inhabitants of the Northern and some of the Southern provinces, that it existed, and efforts were made in the Convention of 1787, to provide for its extinction. But it was maintained by the delegates from the South, that the municipal regulations of the States in regard to Slavery were not proper subjects for the legislative action of the General Government. The Northern members reluctantly consented to the adoption of these views, and only from the conviction that no union among the States could be formed without this compromise of opinion.

The Government of the United States is a Government of delegated powers, and all powers not expressly granted by the Constitution, or which may not be indispensable to carry general grants of power into effect, are reserved to the "States respectively or to the people." The power to establish or abolish Slavery in the States is not granted to the Federal Government, nor is it necessary to the exercise of any general power granted by the Constitution. It is therefore among the reserved rights of the States.

"A State has the same undeniable and unlimited jurisdiction over all persons and things within its territorial limits as any foreign nation, when that jurisdiction is not restrained of surrendered to the Constitution of the United States. By virtue of this it is not only the right, but the bounden and solemn duty of a State to advance the safety, happiness and prosperity of its people, and to provide for its general welfare by any and every act of legislation over which it may deem to be conducive to these ends, where the power over the particular subject, or the manner of its exercise, is not surrendered or restrained in the manner just stated." [11 Peters, NewYork vs. Milne.]

There can then be no question that the several States have exclusive control over the subject of Slavery within their respective boundaries. So far as their domestic affairs are concerned, they are sovereign and independent States having the political right to sanction any law or custom not incompatible with the provisions of the Federal Constitution, without accountability to any human tribunal.

The right in respect to Slavery is absolute, except in the States formed from the northwestern territory, where Slavery was forever forbidden by the ordinance of 1787.—It has been exercised in the Free States by the total abolition of Slavery, and in the Slave States by various statuary provisions and judicial constructions, defining the nature of slave property, whether real or personal, (2d Washing, Virginia, Reports, Walden vs. Payne,)—the circumstances under which slaves may be freed and when even freemen shall be sold as slaves. These varied municipal regulations of the several States have received the sanction or have been recognized by the courts of State and Federal authority. And so the laws of the Free States abolishing Slavery within their boundaries, and freeing every resident from involuntary servitude, except persons held to service in one State under the laws thereof, escaping to another, have uniformly been respected by the courts of the General Government and by those of the Slave States.

"The right of a State, says Chief Justice Martin, of Louisiana, to pass laws dissolving the relation of master and servant, is recognized in the Constitution of the United States, by a very forcible implication. This instrument declares that no person held to labour or service in one State under the laws thereof escaping into another State, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation thereof, be discharged from such service or labour. Hence the implication is strong, that such persons who do not escape, but whose owners voluntarily bring, may be discharged by the laws or regulations of the State into which they are brought For if this could not be done, of what use would be the prohibition?"

[14 Martin's Louisiana Rep Lumford vs. Coquillon.

The people of this State have, therefore, no right to interfere, through any department of Government, with Slavery, as it exists in the several States It is a subject foreign to their jurisdiction, and for the consequence of which they are in no respect, either moral or political, at all responsible. And such it is believed are the sentiments of the people of the Free States. That they hold Slavery to be a great evil cannot be doubted, but faithful to the compromises of the Constitution, they have carefully refrained from any interference with it as a State institution,

The recent acquisitions of territory by the general Government, have given rise to the claim by citizens of the Slave States, that they have the right to carry their slaves as property into any territory of the United States, where Slavery has not been forbidden by the laws of Congress.

The claim is of grave importance, and demands, from the interests involved, and the relations of the claimants as citizens of the same great Confederacy, respectful and deliberate consideration. It is one on which the people of this State have also the right to be heard, and though as a local institution it might be regarded as a violation of comity to expose the enormities of Slavery, or depict its terrible evils, yet, when it is sought to extend it beyond the States and establish it in territories now free and owned in common by all the people of the United States, it becomes proper to examine the grounds of the alleged right, and to enquire into the consequences which would follow its admission.

The rights of a citizen of the United States are either natural rights, or rights derived from the Federal Constitution, from the laws of Congress, or from the laws of the State or territory in which they are exercised.

Now a natural right to property in man does not exist.

"The state of Slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced by courts of justice upon mere reasoning or inferences from any principles, moral or political. It must take its rise from positive law—the origin of it can be traced back to no other source."—[Chief Justice Mansfield.

The institution of Slavery is contrary to nature; it is in violation of the sense of right planted in our hearts by the Author of our being, and cannot be sustained as compatible with the laws of nature, while men shall hate oppression and love mercy, and while they shall regard justice as an attribute of God. It is in contravention of the law which appears to regulate the progress of mankind towards a higher civilization, and by which the voluntary exertions of individual men become the means of general advancement. The subjugation of the earth was among the declared purposes of man's mission. To till the ground and compel it to yield abundant harvests; to explore the depths of the earth and bring forth its hidea treasures, and to convert the crude materials of nature into useful forms, are the tasks of labour. It is by labour that the truths of science are made known, and to it we owe the manifold contrivances of art. All human knowledge and all progress are the results of labour, and the motive to labour is the enjoyment of its fruits. It is to the hope of ultimate enjoyment that animates us to exertion, that sustains the weary and encourages the dejected. But to the slave, labour has no such solace, for he knows that the fruits of his toil are to be enjoyed by another. He is deprived of a right held so dear by the free, that to secure it, governments are instituted, codes of law are enacted, judiciaries are established, and the violation of the right is punished by disgrace, by imprisonment, and sometimes by death.

"That Slavery is contrary to the law of nature, said that profound jurist, Chief Justice Marshall, will scarcely be denied. That every man has a natural right to the fruits of his own labour is generally admitted, and that no other person can rightfully deprive him of those fruits and appropriate them against his will, seems to be the necessary result of this admission. Slavery has its origin in force."—[10 Wheaton Antelope.

The right of man to hold property in man must then rest on the arbitrary enactment of law.

We shall look in vain to the Constitution of the United States, the organic law of the Federal Union, for the grant to any authority in Congress to establish Slavery. No such power has been delegated, nor would slave owners consent to derive their rights as such from that source, for if Congress could establish Slavery in the several States, it would have the corresponding power to abolish it.

The Constitution recognizes, by a strong implication, the right of the several States to establish within their respective limits the institution of Slavery. The provision in regard to fugitives from service necessarily implies that slaves may be held by municipal law, though it does not recognize them as property but as persons.

"The Constitution treats slaves as persons. By the laws of certain States slaves are treated as property. But if slaves are considered in some of the States as merchandise, that cannot divest them of the leading and controlling quality of persons by which they are designated in the Constitution. The character of property is given them by the local law. This law is respected and all rights under it are protected by the federal authorities, but the Constitution acts upon slaves as persons and not as property. The power over Slavery belongs to the States respectively. It is local in its character and its effects, and the transfer or sale of slaves cannot be separated from this power. It is indeed essential to it. Each State has a right to protect itself against the avarice of and intrusion of the slave dealer, to guard its citizens against the inconveniences and danger of a slave population."—[15 Peter's Granes vs. Slaughter.

There is no section of the Constitution by which the right to hold slaves can be substantiated, nor is there any grant of power to Congress to legislate upon the subject of Slavery except under the general power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the "territory or other property of the United States."

Slavery then is the result of local law. It is established and sustained by the municipal regulations of the States where it exists, and like all local laws, they have no force beyond the territorial limits of the State enacting them.

"It is plain, says Judge Story, that the laws of our country can have no intrinsic force *proprio vegore* except within the territorial limits and jurisdiction of that country. They can bind only its subjects and others who are within its jurisdictional limits, and the latter only while they remain there. No other nations or subjects are bound to yield the slightest obedience to these laws; whatever extra territorial force they are to have is the result not of any original power to extend them abroad, but of that respect which from motives of public policy other nations are disposed to yield to them."—[Conflict of Laws, sec. 7.

In the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Pennsylvania, it was held by Judge Washington, that the article of the federal constitution which provides that no person held to labour or service in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law therein be discharged from such service, did not extend to a case where a slave was voluntarily carried by his master into another State, and therefore, when a citizen of South Carolina brought his slave with him to Pennsylvania; and there resided for six months, the slave became free under the laws of that State, [Exparte Sumner 4th Wash. C. C. Rep. 896] It was again held by the same learned Judge that the above mentioned provision of the constitution did not extend to the case of a slave voluntarily carried by his master into another State, and thus brought within the operation of some law declaring him free [Butler vs. Hopper, 1, Wash. C. C. Rep.] and in the Supreme Court of Louisiana, where a citizen of Louisiana had removed to the State of Ohio taking with him his family and slave and afterwards returning to Louisiana, it was decided that the slave was free.

We conclude, says Judge Martin in this case,

"That the Constitution of the State of Ohio emancipates *ipso facto* such slaves whose owners remove them into that State with the intention of residing there, that the plaintiff, the slave, having been voluntarily removed into that State by her then owner, the latter submitted himself with every member of his family, white and black, and every part of the property brought with him, to the operation and laws of that State, and that as according to them Slavery could not exist in his house, Slavery did not exist there, and the plaintiff was accordingly as effectually emancipated by the operation of the constitution as if by the act and deed of her former master, that she could not be free in one State and a slave in another, that her freedom was not impaired by his forcibly removing her in Kentucky to attempt to assert her freedom nor by her subsequent removal forcibly or voluntary into this State."

The act of Virginia in 1778, declares that from and after the passage thereof, no slave shall be imported into this Commonwealth by sea or by land, and that every slave imported contrary to the true intent and meaning of the act shall, upon such importation, become free. It was held by the Virginia Court of Appeals that a slave born in Virginia and carried to Maryland, and there sold to a person who brought her back to Virginia, and there kept her for more than twelve months, was entitled to her freedom,—[Wilson vs. Isabel Calls Va. Rep. vol. 5.]

By the Statute of Maryland of 1796, all slaves brought into that State to reside are declared free. A slave had resided in Maryland 12 years. The Court decided that she was entitled to her freedom because the master had become a citizen of Maryland voluntarily, by subjecting himself and his slave to the operation of her laws [Leighs Rep. Hunter vs. Fulcher, vol. 1] So in the case of Milly vs. Smith [Missouri Rep. vol. 2] the Judge said, "It has often been decided by the courts of the late territory of Missouri and of this State, that Slaves carried into Illinois with a view to reside, and staying there long enough to acquire the character of residents, do by virtue of such residence become free."

"By the general law of nations, said Judge Story, no nation is bound to recognise the state of Slavery as to foreign slaves found within its territorial dominions, when it is in opposition to its own policy and institutions in favour of the subjects of other nations where Slavery is recognised. The state of Slavery is deemed to be a mere municipal regulation founded upon and limited to the range of the territorial laws."—[1 Peters16. Prigg vs. Penn.]

It is unnecessary to adduce further decisions to show that the courts of the Free and the slave States, and of the general government, regard Slavery as a municipal institution, and that the laws establishing and regulating it have no binding force beyond the territory of the State enacting them.

It remains to be considered whether under the cession of New Mexico and California to the general Government, slaves may there be legally held.

It has been shown that Slavery is founded upon municipal laws, and that all laws of that character are inoperative and of no effect out of the territory of the State enacting them.

It is a well settled principle of public law, or the law of nations, that the mere act of cession by one nation of a portion of its territory, does not affect or disturb the municipal laws of the ceded territory, but that they remain in their original force until modified or annulled by the Government which has acquired the cession.

"The usage of the world is if a nation be not entirely subdued to consider the holding of conquered territory as a mere military occupation until its fate shall be determined at the treaty of peace. If it be ceded by the treaty, the acquisition is confirmed and the ceded territory becomes a part of the nation to which it is annexed, either on the terms stipulated in the treaty of cession, or on such as its new master shall impose. On such transfer it has never been held that the relations of the inhabitants with each other undergo any change. Their relations with their former sovreign are dissolved, and new relations are created between them and the government which has acquired their transfers the allegiance of those who remain in it, and the law which may be denominated political is necessarily changed, although that which regulates the intercourse and general conduct of individuals remains in force until altered by the newly created power of the State.

"All the laws which were in force in Florida while a province of Spain, those excepted which were political in their character, which concerned the relations between the people and their sovreign, remained in force until altered by the Government of the United States."—[1 Peters, American Ins. Co. vs. Canter.]

It is then manifest that the laws of New Mexico and California abolishing Slavery, must be operative there until they shall have been repealed by the Government of the United States. If Congress shall in the exercise of the power confided to it by the Constitution, pass laws admitting Slavery, then the right to carry slaves there will be created, but until such laws shall be passed no such right will exist, and every person emigrating to those provinces must, by the law of nature and of nations, be free.

In determining whether it is expedient to admit Slavery into these territories, it is proper to examine what have been the influences of Slavery upon the great interests of society where it has been established. And the enquiry is the more pertinent and interesting, because all questions which have reference to the social condition of the inhabitants of any portion of the United States, to their advancement in civilization, to the extension of education or to the developement of the physical resources of the country, have a direct influence upon the prosperity of the people of this State.

Now, it cannot be doubted, that the influence of Slavery, aside from its moral objections, is detrimental to the communities in which it is established. It degrades labour, the great source of National wealth, it paralyses industry, represses the spirit of enterprise, keeps from the necessity of its natute all who are subject to its provisions in ignorance, exhausts the fertility of the soil, and impoverishes those who depend upon it for their prosperity.

The evil effects of Slavery in retarding the progress of improvement are exemplified in the relative increase of population and wealth in a Free and a Slave State.

The following table exhibits the decennial increase of population in the State of New York and Virginia since 1790:—

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
N. York	340,120	586,756	959,049	1 372.812	1,918 608	2 428 921
Virginia	748.308	880,200	974.622	1,065.379	1,211,405	1 239,797

The ratio of increase has been in

	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
New York	72.5	63.4	43.1	30.7	26 6 per cent.
Virginia	17 6	10.7	9.3	13.7	2 3 "

The population to the square mile

	1800.	1840.
New York,	11.9	49.5
Virginia	11.7	18 6

The difference in other respects is equally remarkable, thus the annual products of

New York were in 1840.. $193 806.433 or, of each person $79
Virginia, " " " 76,769 053 " " " 62

Of those who received that year the benefits of instruction there were in

	Grammar Schools.	Primary Schools.
New York,	34.715	502,367
Virginia,	11,084	33 331

While of those who could not read and write there were in New York, Whites, 44.452
add ½ col'd population 25,000 — 69,452

Virginia, Whites,	58.787
" Slaves,	448 987
	507.774

The proportion of the population in primary schools in
New York, as 1 in 4.7
Virginia ...as 1 " 35.1

And of the illiterate in
New York, as 1 in 34.9
Virginia, " 1 " 2.4

The State of Virginia has as spacious and accessible harbours for foreign commerce as New York; her natural advantages of soil and climate are superior to those which we possess; her territory, intersected by navigable rivers in every part, is nearly one half greater in extent than ours, yet it is seen that in all the elements which constitute a State, she is far inferior to New York. This remarkable difference between two neighbouring States of a homogenous population, can be attributed to no other cause than the influence of Slavery.

There is a like diversity in the progress of all the Free States as compared with those where Slavery is permitted to exist

Population.

1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.
Free States.				
2 041,532	2,682 625	3 758,910	5,162,362	7 012.399
Slave States,				
1.888 295	2 621 3000	3,480 904	4,502,224	5 853.621

9,718.922
7.334,431

Population of Free States to the square mile in 1840, 26.7 area 304 000 square miles. Slave States 11.3 area 629,500 square miles.

The Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin are excluded, because they had in 1840 but 75000 persons

Persons receiving instructions in 1840.

	Grammar Schools.	Primary Schools.	Illiterate.
Free States,	107.134	1.644,250	203 781 whites. 86 700 col'd.
Total,			290,481
Slave States,	57,136	200,863	346.124 whites. 200.000 free c'd, 2 487.355
Total,			3.033,479

The proportion of population receiving instruction in

	Grammar Schools.	Prim. Schools.	Illit'e.
Free States in	1 to 90 7	1 to 5.8	1 to 33 4
Slave States in	1 to 20 8	1 " 36.6	1 to 2.4

In the estimate of the illiterate, it is assumed that one half of the black population of the Free States can read, and of the free blacks in the Slave States that but 13,000 of a population of 213,000 have had the benefit of education, so far as to have learned to read.

The money value of the annual products of 1840 was, of the Free States, $658,705,098; average product of each person $67.50. Slave States $404,529,638; average product of each person $55.

It appears from the foregoing tables compiled from the official census of the United States, that the loss of the State of Virginia by the employment of slave instead of free labour was in the year 1840, $21,077,549; and to the Slave States, from the same cause, in that year, $93,680 387, or an amount exceeding the value of the cotton and tobacco crops, the great staples of the Southern States.

Such are the results where Slavery is established and cherished. It retards the increase of population; it closes the door to knowledge, and keeps the great body of the people in ignorance; it depresses industry, and makes the labour exacted by a task-master produce one fourth less than the voluntary, unbidden labour of the free.

By the valour of our arms, we have conquered from a neighbouring people 650,000 square miles of territory. We have added to our possessions a region equal in extent to the area east of the Alleghany mountains from the river St. Lawrence to the Capes of Florida. Blessed with a genial climate and a fertile soil—rich in the precious metals beyond any district of the globe—it stretches for 950 miles along the Pacific Ocean, and embraces the only safe harbours for the commerce of the west coast of America.

It is evident, from the configuration of the globe, that the products of Asia will seek our shores for distribution among the nations of Europe. The time is not distant when the traffic of the East, that has enriched so many nations, will flow into our possessions—when our merchants will become the factors of Europe and Asia, and the commerce of more than half the world will centre in the United States. The shores of the Pacific will be dotted with cities rivalling in prosperity and wealth those upon the Atlantic, and the territory of California will be the abode of a dense population.—The question is not, therefore, whether a few planters shall be permitted to gather, by slave labour, a reluctant harvest from a sterile soil; but whether Slavery shall exist in a region destined to become one of the most important on the western coast of the continent, and containing, in itself, all the great elements of Empire.

But in another respect, the question of admitting Slavery into New Mexico and California, closely affects the welfare of a portion of our own citizens. As the city of New York is the commercial capital of the States on the Atlantic coast, so there will be an emporium for the products of Asia, on the Pacific. The intercourse between the two cities will be intimate and important. The ships of this State trading to the Pacific, will make their repairs, receive their supplies, or terminate their voyages, at that port. If the territory be free, our citizens will receive the same protection, and their rights be recognized and observed as at home; but if, unhappily, Slavery should be established, then must those who are distinguished by a darker pigment of the skin, be subject to the same violations of their rights as men and as citizens, as those who, in the exercise of their lawful profession, now visit the ports of Slave States. They will be thrown into prisons, and treated as felons, until the ships to which they may be attached are ready to depart.

The question, therefore, whether Slavery shall exist in our newly acquired territories, is of a very practical character, and viewed in any of its aspects, whether moral or political, it must receive an emphatic negative from the people of this State.

Your committee, in the discharge of the duties assigned them, have deemed it proper to allude to the slow progress made by the Slave States in knowledge, population and wealth. They have done so with no unfriendly or disrespectful sentiments towards the citizens of the Slave States, nor from any disposition to inveigh against Slavery as a State institution; for while they are sensible of its inherent evils, they are conscious of the duty of removing it. The committee are aware that the extirpation of Slavery in the Northern States, was an easy task compared to that of freeing a State where the entire labouring population is composed of Slaves. They believe that the removal of Slavery can only be safely effected by degrees, and that sudden and general emancipation would be alike destructive to the master and the slave.

Holding these sentiments in common with the whole of the people of this State, your committee cannot refrain from commenting upon the harsh denial of the Southern States of the right to the free expression of opinion of the citizens of the North in respect to Slavery.

It is conceded, it has never been questioned, that the several States are competent to establish or abolish Slavery, as they may deem expedient; nor is it known to your committee that any of the Free States, through the organs of their governments, have ever interfered in any manner with the exercise of this undoubted right. If any State should either directly or indirectly so interfere, it would meet with the just reprobation of her sister States whether they sanctioned Slavery within their own territories or not.

But the case is widely different with the citizens in their private capacities. The free expression of opinion cannot be repressed, nor can it be barred out by geographical lines or legislative enactments, still less will it be silenced by harsh rebuke and menacing language.

It is alike the privilege and the duty of every citizen to testify against wrong, in whatsoever form it may present itself. Shall the thoughts of a man be stifled in this community on a great moral question? Is he to stand dumb in the presence of what he may deem a great wrong, because the expression of his resentment is offensive or unpalatable? The right is conceded that we may sympathise with the oppressed of other lands. We are free to offer condolence to the broken-hearted Poles; to send money and arms to the oppressed Greeks; we may raise a threatening hand against the combined powers of Europe, if they attempt to reduce the revolting colonies of South America to subjection, but we are forbidden to utter a word against the oppression of three millions of our own people.

In its moral aspect, Slavery is abhorrent to the people of this State. It is vain to say that it is an institution for which we are not responsible. The voice of humanity will not be hushed by such reasoning. The sympathies of our nature cannot be repressed by the cold declaration that the slave is dwelling in another community, nor will the expression of deep regret for his bondage, or earnest entreaty for his deliverance, be silenced by the assurance of his alleged contentment.

The North, with characteristic forbearance, has submitted to many wrongs, having their origin in the effort to uphold and strengthen the institution of Slavery. For Slavery the Cherokees were driven from their homes in defiance of a solemn treaty, and the faith of the nation violated before the world. For Slavery the sovereignty of New Jersey was trampled under foot to admit its advocates on the floor of Congress. For Slavery, the sacred right of petition was denied and scoffed at. For Slavery, it was proposed that the mails should be r

Poetry.

EACH AND ALL.

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

Little thinks, in the field, yon red-cloaked clown,
Of thee from the hill-top looking down;
The heifer that lows in the upland farm,
Far-heard, lows not thine ear to charm;
The sexton tolling his bell at noon,
Deems not that great Napoleon
Stops his horse, and lists with delight,
Whilst his files sweep round yon Alpine height;
Nor knowest thou what argument
Thy life to thy neighbour's creed has lent.
All are needed by each one;
Nothing is fair or good alone.
I thought the sparrow's note from heaven,
Singing at dawn on the alder-bough;
I brought him home, in his nest, at even;
He sings the song, but it pleases not now,
For I did not bring home the river and sky;—
He sang to my ear,—they sang to my eye.
The delicate shells lay on the shore;
The bubbles of the latest wave
Fresh pearls to their enamel gave;
And the bellowing of the savage sea
Greeted their safe escape to me.
I wiped away the weeds and foam,
I fetched my sea-born treasures home;
But the poor, unsightly, noisome things
Had left their beauty on the shore,
With the sun, and the sand, and the wild uproar.
The lover watched his graceful maid,
As 'mid the virgin train she strayed,
Nor knew her beauty's best attire
Was woven still by the snow-white choir.
At last she came to his hermitage,
Like the bird from the woodlands to the cage;—
The gay enchantment was undone.
A gentle wife, but fairy none.
Then I said, "I covet truth;
Beauty is unripe childhood's cheat;
I leave it behind with the game of youth."—
As I spoke, beneath my feet
The ground-pine curled its pretty wreath,
Running over club-moss burs;
I inhaled the violet's breath;
Around me stood the oaks and firs;
Pine-cones and acorns lay on the ground,
Over me soared the eternal sky.
Full of light and of deity;
Again I saw, again I heard,
The rolling river, the morning bird;—
Beauty through my senses stole;
I yielded myself to the perfect whole.

UPON A BRANCH OF FLOWERING ACACIA.

BY FANNY KEMBLE BUTLER.

The blossoms hang again upon the tree,
As when with their sweet breath they greeted me
Against my casement, on that sunny morn,
When thou, first blossom of my spring, was born,
And as I lay, panting from the fierce strife,
With death and agony that won thy life,
Their sunny clusters hung on their brown bough,
E'en as upon my breast, my May bud, thou.
They seem to me thy sisters, Oh my child!
And now the air, full of their fragrance mild,
Recalls that hour; a tenfold agon y
Pulls at my heart-strings as I think of thee.
Was it in vain! Oh, was it all in vain!
That night of hope, of terror, and of pain,
When from the shadowy boundaries of death,
I brought thee safely, breathing living breath
Upon my heart—it was a holy shrine,
Full of God's praise—they laid thee, treasure mine!
And from its tender depths the blue heaven smiled,
And the white blossoms bowed to thee, my child,
And solemn joy of a new life was spread,
Like a mysterious halo, round that bed.
And now how is it, since eleven years,
Have steeped that memory in bitterest tears?
Alone, heart-broken, on a distant shore,
Thy childless mother sits lamenting o'er
Flowers, which spring calls from this foreign earth,
The twins, that crowned the morning of thy birth.
How is it with thee—lost—lost—precious one!
Is thy fresh spring-time growing up alone?
What warmth enfolds thee? What sweet dews are shed
Like love and patience over thy young head?
What holy springs feed thy deep inner life?
What shelters thee from passion's deadly strife?
What guards thy growth, straight, strong, and full and free,
Lovely and glorious; oh, my fair young tree?
God—Father—thou—who by this awful fate
Hast lopp'd and stripp'd, and left me desolate!
In the dark bitter floods that o'er my soul
Their billows of despair triumphant roll,
Let me not be o'erwhelmed!—Oh, they are thine,
These jewels of my life—not mine—not mine!
So keep them, that the blossoms of their youth
Shall in a gracious growth of love and truth,
With an abundant harvest honour Thee:
And bless the blight which Thou hast sent on me,
Withering and blasting, though it seem to fall,
Let it not, oh, my Father! drink up all
My spirit's sap—so from this fate shall grow
The palm branch for my hand and for my brow,
With which, a hopeful pilgrim, I may tread
The shadowy path where rest awhile the dead,
Ere they rise up, a glorious company,
To find their lost ones, and to worship Thee!

ROSALIND'S MADRIGAL.

Love in my bosom, like a bee,
Doth suck his sweet;
Now with his wings he plays with me,
Now with his feet.
Within mine eyes he makes his nest,
His bed amidst my tender breast;
My kisses are his daily feast,
And yet he robs me of my rest:
Ah, wanton, will ye?

And if I sleep, then percheth he
With pretty flight,
And makes his pillow of my knee,
The live-long night.
Strike I my lute, he tunes the string;
He music plays if so I sing;
He lends me every lovely thing,
Yet cruel he my heart doth sting:
Whist, wanton, still ye!

Else, I with roses every day
Will whip you hence,
And bind you, when you long to play,
For your offence;
I'll shut mine eyes to keep you in,
I'll make you fast it for your sin,
I'll count your power not worth a pin;
Alas! what hereby shall I win,
If he gainsay me?

What if I beat the wanton boy
With many a rod;
He will repay me with annoy
Because a god.
Then sit thou safely on my knee,
And let thy bower my bosom be;
Lurk in mine eyes, I like of thee,
O, Cupid! so thou pity me,
Spare not, but play thee.

THOMAS LOGAN, 1590.

LITTLE CHILDREN.

"Candid and curious, how they seek
All truth to know and scan;
And, ere the budding mind can speak,
Begin to study man!
Confiding sweetness colours all they say,
And angels listen when they try to pray.

More playful than the birds of spring,
Ingenious, warm, sincere;
Like meadow-bees upon the wing
They roam without a fear;
And breathe their thoughts on all who round them live,
As light sheds beams, or flowers their perfume give.

Montgomery's Christian Life.

Miscellany.

THE MISSION TO THE LONDON THIEVES.

We find in one of our English exchanges the following curious, and exceedingly interesting account of the labours of a Mr. Walker, a Scotchman, among the thieves of London. The article was originally copied from *Hogg's Weekly Instructor*.

Perhaps few men deserve so much of the sympathy and encouragement of their Christian brethren as these missionaries who condescend to men of the most wretched estate—who, full of a charity and sympathy which are rare in this cold world, go about amidst the most pestilential airs, and to the gloomiest homes, to point the sunken eyes of the thief and prostitute to purer air and brighter homes above. Few can estimate the harrowing scenes which hourly pain the home-missionary's heart; and few can ever know the discouragements that meet him in his progress, as he toils on in the service of his Heavenly Master; and perhaps as few can realize that glorious fullness of faith which sustains him in his Master's work. Perhaps there is not in the world a man better qualified to discharge the home-apostleship than is Mr. A. Walker, whom we have called the "Lion of Westminster" at York, and the "Lamb of Westminster" in London. He is more than a lion in strength of purpose and moral courage; he is a lamb in the gentleness of his soul and in the humility of his nature. For ten years he has been almost daily in the foulest and most demoralized purlieus of Westminster, entering freely and without fear where single policemen dare not venture alone, and preaching and doing good to brigands and robbers, who recieve him with pleasure and listen to him with respect. Whilst lately in London, we collected several facts relating to this remarkable man and his services, and we had determined to lay them before our readers, but still we always shrunk, from a feeling of delicacy towards the good missionary, from intruding on his modest path, and interfering with a course so nice and perilous as his. The proceedings of a thieves' meeting, published in the "City Mission Magazine," for Nov. 1848, has relieved us now, however, of all sense of responsibility in our doing so, and we can with peace open up to our readers a glimpse of the path which Mr. Walker daily treads. Mr. Walker is a Scotchman, and is to Westminster what Mr. Jackson is to the Minories. He is the thieves' missionary of Duck Lane, Old and New Pye Streets, Pye Court, and those other dark purlieus north of the abbey, which yield a plentiful treasury to the dean and chapter of Westminster. He has the confidence and esteem of the veriest outcasts of the world; and, let the world sneer at the declaration if it will, he declares, and we believe him, that there are many virtues living side by side in the same souls with the sins which society sternly and inexorably punishes, and religion with pity condemns.

In the earlier part of his career, Mr. Walker had related to a friend his experience of the wilderness of woe to which he went in faith to sow the good seed, and this friend being much struck with what he had heard, published a particular account of the haunts and habits of the Westminster thieves. It must be recollected that these thieves are not totally illiterate, and that they have a special interest in watching public events. They subscribe for newspapers, and otherwise take a lynx-eyed cognizance of men and movements. The paragraph of Mr. W.'s injudicious friend met the eye of the leader of one of the Westminster gangs, as it was sworn in conclave, that, as the missionary had betrayed their confidence, he should be pushed into the Thames some dark night. Providence, however, prevented the consummation of this terrible plot.—The chief of the murderers revealed their purpose to his paramour, and she, remembering who it was that had brought her medicine and cordials when she was lying at the point of death, and who it was that always spoke to her so gently of Christ's love for sinners who forsook their sin, and who exhorted her and prayed with and for her, rose in the night-time, and, pale and trembling, repaired to the good missionary's home and revealed to him his danger.

The intrepid soldier of the cross saw at once that unless he acted boldly and openly, his usefulness was gone as well as his life menaced. He accordingly went to the band—accused them of their plot—explained the circumstances of the publication—appealed to their experience of his past connection with them—and so regained their confidence by his frankness, that every design against his life was foregone, and these very murderers are his warmest friends. Even so do love and truth quicken those who are dead in trespasses and sins.

We have often heard the adage bandied from mouth to mouth, "there is honour among thieves," and the fact is substantiated by Mr. Walker's experience. On one occasion, a friend expressed much anxiety to accompany the missionary on one of his visits to a band, whom he had promised to meet in a secret place upon a Sabbath afternoon. "I shall take you to the outside of the building, but I cannot take it upon me to admit you to our meeting, unless I obtain permission," said the missionary, yielding to his persuasions at last. The permission of the captain was asked and obtained, and the friend was allowed to join the meeting. After prayer was over, his friend whispered in Mr. Walker's ear that his handkerchief was gone. The captain being informed of the fact, immediately commanded it to be restored, at the same time indignantly saying to the thief who had taken it. "You are no longer a member of our band, we shall have no dishonourable fellow with us."

Although driven from the paths of virtue, and peace, and honesty, many of these thieves retain a high sense of the dignity of probity, and often bear something like an honourable testimony to an honest life. One notorious thief in Westminster gives one pound a year to a ragged school, and on more than one occasion he has led children to its door and pointed their way towards it. "Ah," said he to the missionary, who one day had referred to his anxiety for juvenile instruction, "although I am a thief myself, I do not wish others to be so. I am not so with my will. The law made me so. My first imprisonment was a false one. I was innocent of the crime imputed to me, nevertheless I was punished and ruined. When I came from prison I was an outcast from society. Nobody would employ a 'gaol bird,' and I was therefore forced to become what the blind law had made me appear to be and what the world believed me to be."

This is not a singular case in the missionary's experience, and happily he has been the means of reclaiming one at least to peace and respectability, whom the law had punished in mistake, but unmistakeably thrown into the vortex of crime. One young man who robbed, not because he loved to do so, but because the honest would not give him honourable employment after a false imprisonment, was led back to the path of virtue by this minister of love, and now occupies a respectable position in society.

The life of the missionary in the homes and haunts of the vile is a life of active charity, and such a one as prepares him for the apostolic measure of this cardinal Christian virtue. Mr. Walker has been somewhat censured by fastidious friends for his exertions to reclaim the weakest and the most pitiable portion of all those who have been secluded from the path of rectitude. "Oh, if you knew," said the missionary to a dear friend of ours, "how many of these poor creatures are brought to this condition by the falsehood and villany of men of wealth, and how many of them would starve if they were to return to virtue, you would not blame them, and reserve your indignation for those who have destroyed them." World-doubting, censorious, conventional world, would you believe it? Many poor unfortunates have been led back to the ways of pleasantness by this hero of philanthropy, and are now happy wives and the angels of happy homes.

The secret of Mr. Walker's success in teaching these, our poor brothers and sisters of humanity, is love. He went first amongst them and befriended them, and, having gained their confidence, he lifted up the veil that divided them from the Redeemer's kingdom—preached repentance, and pointed to the glorious heavens, through the merits of the crucified Saviour. "I would rather consent to die than divulge to the law-officers anything that has been revealed in confidence to me by these people," says the good missionary; "I am the servant of Him whose ministry is love, and who reserves to himself vengeance."

For ten years has Mr. Walker lived amongst these people, condemning their practices, pointing out the evil of their ways, describing the peace and glory of virtue and religion, and never in one single instance suffering an expression palliating their ways of life to cross his lips; and yet the very thieves breathe his name in love. The poor and lowly scatter blessings perfumed with the incense of prayer upon his path, and the desponding and sorrowing sigh, and "wish that they were only as sure of heaven as he."

Fortunately, there are now incontestible corroborative facts before the public upon this subject; and it will be seen that our good friend Walker's case is not a singular one. The following description of a meeting of thieves, held in London, surpasses all that ever yet was placed upon the records of history, and shows us what might be done if men were only wise. All the Bow-street officers and thief-takers in the metropolis could not have brought together 207 thieves in a month; but love—the will to do them good, and the confidence won by one Christian man—drew them voluntarily together to listen to words of hope and promise, and to behold the glimmerings of a better future. This meeting is one of the most serious phenomena of the age, and is calculated to produce much reflection upon our social condition, and to widen much the circle of general charity. We extract the account from the *Era*, of November, 1848:—

"Everybody has heard of the Ragged Schools, and most people know that Lord Ashley is their principal promoter. Now, there is what is termed the London City Mission, established for the purpose of supporting Ragged Schools, and employing missionaries to reform people living amongst us of humble callings and of all ages. One of these missionaries is Mr. Jackson, of the Rag Fair and Rosemary-lane district. His house is open to all who choose to visit him in search of advice and assistance; and between June and December, 1847, so many as 2343 calls upon him were made by children and young persons. People at all acquainted with the neighbourhood to which Mr. Jackson's zealous, pious, and philanthropic labours are confined, will not be surprised to learn that he is termed the 'Thieves Missionary,' a distinction of which he is, doubtless, by no means ashamed, and one which he has been at much pains to obtain. He is, in fact, in the confidence of the thieves of London—a confidence profitable to them, to him, and to the whole community. How this intimacy was obtained, and by what means it is kept up with advantage to both parties, and an injury to neither, it would take a volume to relate—such a volume as would put 'Paul Clifford' and 'Jack Sheppard' in the shade—such a story of real life as would eclipse all the sentimental slang, and vice made charming, that have been prepared by different authors to suit the tastes of different palates, but not to benefit their owners.

"When we consider how many missionaries are eaten by savages, speared by Indians, killed by fever, and otherwise made to suffer in the pursuit of their calling—when we remember what is borne by these men without 'fainting by the way'—it is not to be wondered at that Mr. Jackson courts and keeps such dangerous acquaintances as professed thieves; and when we reflect upon what is done in the jungle, on the prairie, in the mountains, the desert, and in the wilderness, it is by no means surprising that his 'mission' is not unsuccessful.

"The fact that half a dozen pickpockets occasionally drop in and take tea and pray with him and his respectable family, or that he, a moral man, and a Christian, goes openly into dens of infamy, and familiarises himself with sin in its most sickening shape (and these be facts), is not so striking as is the evidence of the existence of such cool outlaws, and such deliberate crime, as those to which we allude. But we are coming to more of this presently. We are about to describe a scene which Bulwer, nor Ainsworth, nor Reynolds never dreamed of in their philosophy.

"It occurred to Mr. Jackson, upon the receipt of Lord Ashley's speech, spoken in the House of Commons, in June last, that some of his 'young friends' might desire to emigrate 'at the expense of the Government,' but not after the manner in which culprits usually leave the mother country. He accordingly put the question to one of them, the answer was, 'I should jump at it!' Thus encouraged, he made further inquiry among his wicked associates, and shortly afterward, to use the words of the 'City Mission Magazine' for this month (November)—'Mr. Jackson was sent for by a number of thieves lodging in a court adjacent to the district called Blue Anchor Yard. He went, and they expressed themselves extremely desirous to know whether any hope could be held out of their obtaining an honest livelihood, however humble, in our colonies, instead of continuing to pursue their present criminal course in this country, from which they found it now almost an impossibility to extricate themselves. "It would," said they, "be a capital thing for chaps like us."'

"Of course the matter was seriously discussed, and we ask any thinking man, whether a scene more interesting can be imagined than that wherein the moral and religious champion stood, surrounded by the lawless gang of castaways, the miscreants, whose hands or fingers were against everybody, and at whom every man's (particularly every policeman's) hand or finger was directed? We can believe in 'The Beggar's Opera,' and Peachum, Lockett, and Filch are to us living characters; but there is something in this truth far more strange than fiction. To proceed: Mr. Jackson informed his audience that Lord Ashley was about to honour him with a visit, and he would have much pleasure in introducing them to his lordship. The Irish Free School was fixed on as the place of meeting, and on the evening of Thursday, July 27, 1848, the convicted felons, vagrants, and known thieves, assembled together to the number of two hundred and seven, for the purpose of consulting Lord Ashley as to the best means for bettering their condition. Two hundred and seven thieves! Even Mr. Jackson was not prepared for this. It was a meeting that had never taken place since Spartan boys had ceased to congregate. Two hundred and seven professed thieves surrounding half a dozen honest men was a sight worthy of all the metropolitan magistrates and the entire police force. Had Porson's devil taken 'a walk' that night, what would he have said or done in passing the Irish Free School? But we must not pause to moralise. The 'City Mission Magazine' says with becoming candor, coolness, and gravity—'Several of the *best known* and *most experienced thieves* were stationed at the door, to prevent the admission of any *but* thieves. Some four or five individuals, who were *not at first known*, were subjected to a more public examination, and only allowed to remain on their *stating who they were*, and being recognized as members of the dishonest fraternity; and before the proceedings of the evening commenced, the question was very carefully put, and repeated several times, whether any one was in the room of whom others entertained doubts as to who he was. The object of this care was, as so many of them were in danger of getting into trouble, as they call it, or in other words, of being taken up for their crimes, if discovered, to ascertain whether any who should betray them was present.

"How will it be supposed that the meeting was opened? Why, with a hymn, and then a prayer. And the writer in the Magazine, who was one of the few honest men present, shrewdly says, 'What was the real state of the hearts of those present, while these devotional exercises were proceeding, it is of course, impossible for any man to say.'—Who, indeed, shall fathom the heart of man?

"An address was next read to Lord Ashley, setting forth the nature and object of the meeting, and the characters of those who attended it, together with the result of the reader's previous exertions in the cause of reformation. From that it appeared that rehearsals or trials had previously taken place, and when they met *only* one hundred and thirty-eight avowed thieves were present. We extract from a table the results of inquiries made upon that occasion:—

Number of individuals present	138
How many of you have been in prison?	138
Have all of you been in prison for theft?	138
How many of you ascribe your fall to intoxicating drink?	27
How many of you are abandoned by your friends, who could help you?	21
How many of you have friends who cannot help you?	83
How many of you have friends who would help you if they knew your present state?	5
Are you willing to give up thieving and go to work?	138
How many of you have mothers living?	14
How many of you have a father living?	17
How many of you are living with girls in an unmarried state?	13
How many of you are willing to marry the girls you are living with?	11
How many of you are married?	4
How many of you sleep in unions?	69
How many of you ascribe your present ruin to sleeping in the casual ward?	49
How many of you are likely to get into trouble?	138
How many of you are willing to emigrate?	137

How much do you get for every pound's worth of goods?—Five shillings in the pound, if we are not known: but if we are known, ten shillings in the pound.

"The above is an important document. We leave the reader to ponder over it, and the intelligent mind will find there more to engage it than we have space to point out, or ability to describe. One hundred and thirty-eight of our fellow-creatures in the prime of manhood, thieves by trade, self acknowledged felons, ready to abandon their unlawful pursuits, and in this Christian, moral, liberal, and enlightened age, actually incapable of discovering how to be honest, and live? Out of 372, 278 had received no education, and their times of imprisonment varied from one to twenty-seven times, while two forgot how many times they had been incarcerated. But we must hasten to a close. What was to be said to the two hundred and seven confessed and convicted rogues then and there? What was to become of them after the party broke up? Lord Ashley is a practical philanthropist, a Christian gentleman, a legislator, and a lord. He has a heart and a head that reflect credit upon human nature. He is an ornament to society and a blessing to mankind, but he must have felt and deplored his individual helplessness; here he must have seen the magnitude of his task and the littleness of his power. He addressed his hearers, we are told, 'carefully and judiciously.' No record was kept of his speech. He expressed his willingness to befriend them as it was his duty to do. His lordship candidly told them, that there was little hope for them here, and recommended them to turn their attention to the back settlements of the New World. Suggestive of levity as may be these particulars, there is something so serious, so solemn, associated with them, that the jeer sinks to a sigh, and we say, 'Alas, for frail humanity! Alas, for wayward man!' Lord Ashley could promise them nothing; and the sternness, consequent upon a consciousness of their unworthiness, probably melted into pity as he looked around upon the upturned faces of the prodigal, the profligate, the abandoned, the hopeless—the drowning men clinging to straws, the doomed, the guilty.—The gallows loomed in the distance of thought, the hulks were ready.

"'Mutual aid' was what his lordship most recommended,—self-reliance, self-sacrifice, a relinquishing of their old practices, and new resolves for the future.

"'But how,' said they, 'are we to live till our next meeting? We must steal, or die.' One of the party arose and said, 'My lord, and gentlemen of the jury,* prayer is very good, but it will not fill an empty stomach.' There was a general response of 'Hear, hear;' and the 'directors of the meeting,' we are told, 'were in considerable difficulty.' One thief hereupon came forward and recounted how he had forsaken his criminal calling, and travelled to Exeter on foot in search of employment, and back again to Mr. Jackson, who received him footsore and faint, and relieved him. Step by step, with evidence of repentance, must those rise who do emerge from their position; but without aid of some kind how few will escape the fate to which they are hastening. Those who were present felt this, for a sum of money was contributed on the spot, and thirteen of those who were present are now in the wilds of Canada. Our readers must draw their own comments from these facts."

Are we not right when we say that true courage and true glory belong to the heroes of philanthropy? And shall not our Lord have rewards sufficient for men who, like Messrs. Jackson and Walker, follow in the footsteps of their Master, keeping company with the vilest of sinners, and being willing to be thought of no account that perishing souls may be saved?

* This is literally true.

From "Shaw's Outlines of English Literature."

JOHN BUNYAN.

The book from which we (*Literary World*) make the following extract, has long been wanting among the text books for the higher classes of our seminaries. It presents a history of the literature of England from the earliest times, marking its progress and its changes, and embodying vivid sketches in the lives and writings of the prominent authors, of the style of the one subjoined. A pleasanter reading book we have not met with for many a day, nor one better calculated not only to impart a knowledge of its subject, but also a desire to extend that knowledge by further study.

"The impressiveness of Bunyan resembles that of the old woodcuts executed in the infancy of the art of engraving; there is in both cases a rude vigour and homeliness of outline, a strange ignorance of costume, and a powerful tendency to realize even the most abstract things by connecting them with the ordinary details of everyday life; there is also the same earnest intensity of purpose, and incessant struggle to bring the objects within the comprehension of the uncultivated minds to which the work was addressed. Above all, there is visible, in the rude woodcut of the old German artist, as in the hardly less rude narrative morality of the English tinker, the unmistakable and inimitable originality of genius. It is this quality which prevents the style of Bunyan, though often *coarse*, from ever being *vulgar*. Southey has excellently remarked, in his preface to the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' 'His is a homespun style, not a manufactured one; and what a difference is there between its homeliness and the flippant vulgarity of the Roger L'Estrange and Tom Brown School! If it is not a well of English undefiled, to which the poet as well as the philosopher must repair if they would drink of the living waters, it is a clear stream of current English, the vernacular speech of his age—sometimes, indeed, in its rusticity and coarseness, but always in its plainness and strength. To this natural style Bunyan is in some degree beholden in his general popularity; his language is everywhere level to the most ignorant reader and to the meanest capacity; there is a homely reality about it; a nursery tale is not more intelligible, in its manner of narration, to a child.

"In speaking of the causes of the extraordinary attraction which this book possesses, particularly to the young, we must not forget the immense command which Bunyan had over the whole vast store of Scripture language and imagery. He was emphatically a man of one book, a circumstance which was of itself almost sufficient to give his mind and productions a stamp of sincerity, originality, and force. He is a man of one book, and that book was the best. It was religion which first raised Bunyan from the slough of coarse indulgencies and brutal ignorance in which, as he relates in his strange autobiography, he was plunged during the early part of his life; it was religion that first stirred up the depths of his honest and enthusiastic soul, and taught him to think as well as to feel; and much as his fanaticism (which was undoubtedly in some degree extravagant, proportioned to the greatness of the change produced in him by the vivifying influence of religious conviction acting on a powerful, imaginative, and uneducated character) may have exaggerated the extent of that transformation, we cannot wonder at his profound meditations on the instrument that produced it.

"His life may be recounted in a few words; he was the son of a tinker in Bedfordshire, and was born in 1628. Having acquired no education beyond reading and writing, he followed his father's less than humble occupation, and travelled about the country, indulging in all manner of profligate and sinful habits, among which that of swearing appears to have been perhaps the most reprehensible, though he speaks himself with almost equal horror of his reprobate taste for dancing, ale-drinking, and bell-ringing. After having been awakened, as he himself imagined (as do all enthusiasts in a similar case,) by a direct miraculous interposition of God, to a sense of his lost and wicked state, he appears to have gone through all the phases of transformation, from a careless and debauched peasant,—"Christopher Sly, old Sly's son of Burton-heath; by birth a pedlar, by education a card-maker, by transmutation a bearherd, and now by present profession a tinker,"—into an eloquent and celebrated preacher, and an author of enduring reputation. His religious convictions having gradually acquired consistence and certainty, he was admitted, in 1655, a member of the sect or congregation of Baptists; and he in time became a distinguished spiritual leader of that society. In this position he remained for five years, when he fell under the provisions of the law enacted against various denominations of Dissenters, and was imprisoned during twelve years in the jail of Bedford. Part of this long seclusion he employed in the composition of his works, the principal of which are the singular and interesting autobiography to which we have more than once alluded, and to which he gave the title of 'Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners;' the 'Pilgrim's Progress;' and another religious romance or allegory, entitled 'The Holy War made by King Shaddai on Diaborus, for the regaining of the Metropolis of the World, or the losing and regaining of Mansoul.' Under this last strange fanatical title it may easily be understood that we have a description of the fall of man, typified in the seige of the city of Mansoul, by Immanuel, the son of Shaddai or Jehovah, who ultimately retakes it from the usurper Diabolus. The 'Pilgrim's Progress' is divided into two parts, of which the first is by far the most striking, the latter exhibiting considerable marks of inferior originality and vivacity, and thus following the ordinary course of the second parts and continuations. The first part describes the adventures of Christian in his pilgrimage to the Heavenly Jerusalem; and the second goes over the same ground with a manifest and unavoidable diminution of interest, detailing the journey taken by the wife and children of Christian.

"In the manner of thinking, in the subjects selected by this singular genius, no less than in the style by which he conveys his conceptions to the reader, we find innumerable traces of that enthusiastic and fanatic spirit which was prevalent in England during the Civil War and the Republic, and which still characterizes the opinions and the language of those numerous sects which dissent from the discipline and doctrines of the Church of England. It is an ardent, sincere, and active spirit, and, if not always very philosophical, or very charitable, we must remember that it has generally been lighted up and cherished by proscription and persecution, and consequently is generally found burning most brightly in the hearts of the obscure and the uneducated. It is not surprising, therefore, that the exclusive study of the Scriptures, and incessant meditation upon a topic so mysterious and so all-important as religion, should lead poor and ignorant and persecuted men first into enthusiasm and then into fanaticism and superstition, and make them fall into the error, so universal in all ages, of overrating the importance and misinterpreting the significance of their own internal sensations, and investing the phantoms of their own heated imaginations with the sacred character of direct inspirations of God.

"Bunyan was liberated from prison by the generous and charitable interference of Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, and continued to exercise his occupation of itinerant preacher till the proclamation of James II. appeared, recognising the right of the dissenting sects to liberty of conscience and worship. He then was enabled, with the assistance of several friends, to build a meeting-house in Bedford, where he continued to preach with great and increasing reputation, occasionally making visits to his brother nonconformists in London, until his death. This event took place in 1688. Few of his numerous works are now read, with the exception of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' a book whose admirable originality will ever cause it to retain its place in English literature beside the 'Robinson Crusoe' of De Foe, a fiction to which it bears in many points a very strong resemblance—a resemblance for which we shall endeavour to account in another place, when we come to speak of the last-named production. The two works are equal favourites with the young; they are read with equal interest, and remembered in after life by all who ever read them with equal tenacity."

From the London Examiner.

THE LATE HARTLEY COLERIDGE.

We regret to have to notice the death of Mr. Hartley Coleridge. He was one of the most original and pleasing of living writers. Though he sadly wasted and misused his powers, he has left enough to determine what his position under better auspices might have been. His "Biographia Borealis" (a collection of brief biographies of men born in the north of England) is a charming book. His notices of Massinger and Ford (written for Mr. Moxon's editions) are full of masterly thought, and knowledge of the manners as well as literature of the Elizabethan age. His poems are not unworthy of Coleridge's son. We are glad to know that he had been some time engaged in the composition of a series of prose essays for Mr. Moxon, and that these will be shortly published.

From the same, Jan. 20.

The subjoined sonnet, written a few years ago, has not been printed until now:—

TO ALFRED TENNYSON, AFTER MEETING HIM FOR THE FIRST TIME.

Long have I known thee as thou art in song,
And long enjoyed the perfume that exhales
From thy pure soul, and odor sweet entails
And permanence, on thoughts that float along
The stream of life, to join the passive throng
Of shades and echoes that are memory's being;
Hearing we hear not, and we see not seeing,
If passion, fancy, faith, move not among
The never-present moments of reflection.
Long have I viewed thee in the crystal sphere
Of verse, that like the beryl makes appear
Visions of hope, begot of recollection—
Knowing thee now, a real earth-treading man,
Not less I love thee, and not more I can.

HARTLEY COLERIDGE.

A correspondent remonstrates with us for our brief remark on Hartley Coleridge, that he had "wasted and misused" his powers. We did not mean that he had abused them to improper uses, but that the non-use of such powers is, quite sufficiently, their misuse and their misappropriation. Our correspondent has no need that we should tell him what else we meant in what we wrote so hastily. He knows it; and suggests for it the excuse, that when Hartley Coleridge used his brain he "ploughed it to its very depths," and that "many are the risks which a man escapes by keeping at a safe distance from the surface." Our correspondent, who signs himself "Ofelus," thus continues: "But Hartley Coleridge's toils were ever in the deepest shafts; and it is needless to remind you that there are certain virtues and proprieties, to the healthy life of which the air, at that depth, is perilously unfavourable. Fellow sinners as we are, let us, as far as we are concerned, allow the grave-sod to lie lightly on the frailties of a brother. It is granted, then, on his own testimony, that our lost friend did not till his fine genius to its full capabilities; but *misuse*?—that is a hard word, which I should be loath to couple with the name of Hartley Coleridge."

We make some further extracts from the "Experiences of Literature and Literary men," in *Jerrold's News*:

Among the disgraceful actions of the British Government had been the encouragement of the most unprincipled libellers of the people of France, individually and collectively. One of the foremost of this race of unprincipled forgers was the notorious Lewis Goldsmith. He had already put together the "Revolutionary Plutarch," or a history of the different individuals that figured in public life in France, in two volumes, in 1804, and of all the characters, by the most atrocious fictions, he made monsters to work upon the prejudices of John Bull. He next forged memoirs of Tallyrand, in two volumes, in which he painted the wary politician as a monster of treachery, lust, cruelty, and hypocrisy, as if from his personal knowledge, so as to stagger the most credulous. Not content with attacking the male sex, he libelled the females in a farrago which he styled the "Female Revolutionary Plutarch;" and a "Secret History of the Court of Bonaparte," from *personal knowledge*, out-heroded Herod. The name of every French lady connected with any of the public characters of the time was basely maligned. All was written in order to show Englishmen how much it became them to revere their happy constitution in Church and State. These books were nominally attributed to a Mr. Stewarton.

About this time, or a little before appeared Beresford's second volume of the "Miseries of Human Life." This work speedily ran through four editions. The second volume was by no means equal to the first. While we write we recall one of the miseries, for we are suffering from it:—"Compelled all the morning to undergo the jargon of yells, drays, and screams, familiarly termed the 'cries of London'—dustmen, beggars, muffin-mongers, needy knife-grinders, bambalio, clangor, stridor, tarantantara, murmur!"—one of the especial calamities of editors. At the time to which we allude everybody had a "misery" at his tongue's end. Beresford was an Oxford parson, and, as Oxford parsons not prone to Puseyism are sometimes apt to do, soothed the irksomness of his theological students by a very silly book, which had in consequence a great run among silly people.

We remember reading Priestley's memoirs, published the year before in America, and now, for the first time, in England. His treatment here was cruel and unjust, not merely by the rabid Birmingham Church and King mob, but by those who knew much better. Thirty years after the death of this great man, the Rev. Mr. Burn, a clergyman, there on a public occasion, honourably, and with true Christian feeling, declared his sincere sorrow for the spirit of animosity he had previously displayed towards the illustrious dead. Dr. Parr dared the same storm. He told us at Hatton, not six years before his decease, on asking him if he was not alarmed when he heard of the fate of his friend Priestly's house, chapel, and laboratory. "I heard they had set out for Hatton to attack me; had they come I should have got off. They would have burned my house and library; they might, but that would not have made me change my friendship for Priestley." The civil authorities and the Government of that time behaved equally ill. It was an odious Ministry. It hated free opinion—in fact, all display of mind that would not aid in replacing Bourbon authority. Priestley never recovered half his losses, and was literally persecuted from our shores—he whose name will be green when the men of that time and their unworthy bones are forgotten.

Cumberland's memoirs were also just published. He was a prolific writer, but his writings were by no means calculated to endure much beyond his own date of departure from the world he so laboured to irradiate. A fashionable dramatic author he continued for a considerable time. His works, too, have the merit of tending to a moral end, but they exhibit few signs of genius. He died in 1811. He projected a literary work in union with James and Horace Smith, the authors of the "Rejected Addresses," with whom he was on intimate terms. John Wilson Croker's assistance was tendered to the work at a very low rate, but Cumberland positively declined the offer, as he could not tolerate a "talking potatoe," for so he styled the ex-secretary of the Admiralty. Mrs. Clarke and the Duke of York turned out a much better stepping-stone to his fortunes.

Speaking of Colton, we omitted to mention his introduction of us to John Stewart, better known as "Walking Stewart." This was at the Northumberland Coffee-house in the Strand, which has disappeared for some years, and was a place much visited by Sheridan. We could make nothing of the notions of this singular character, for whom Colton had a great deference. He was a stout bony man, dressed in black. His publications were a curious medley of metaphysics and politics. His "Travels to discover the Source of Moral Motion, and the Apocalypse of Nature wherein the Source of Moral Motion is discovered," had appeared in 1789.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

THE FIRST STEP.—Chateaubriand says: "In new colonies the Spaniards begin by building a church; the French a ball-room; and the English a tavern."

DR. BUSHMAN states, in the *Medical Times*, that there is scarcely one English girl at any one German boarding school, by whom such exclamations as "Herr Jesu!" [Mister Jesus!] are not familiar almost as household words.

DR. TUHILL MASSAY [*Medical Times*] describes the Irish Phœnician girl: "How pure, how calm, how heavenly she looks; her jet black hair twisted to the back; her open forehead, full, dark eye, beaming blushing countenance. How gracefully that uneducated bare foot steps out."

"IN A VILLAGE in the west of England," says the *Arbroath Guide*, "the following is seen to flourish upon a sign board over the door of an ancient couple:

'I cure a goose, and wife cure the ganders,'
The meaning intended to be conveyed is
'I cure agues, and my wife cures the jaundice.'"

CAUTION TO LADIES.—"Will you never learn, my dear, the difference between real and exchangable value?' The question was put to a husband who had been lucky enough to be tied to a political economist in petticoats. "Oh, yes, my dear, I think I begin to see it."—"Indeed!" responded the lady. "Yes," replied the husband. "For instance, my dear, I know your deep learning, and all your other virtues. That's your *real* value. But I know, also, that none of my married friends would swap wives with me. That's your *exchangeable* value."

"ERE ANOTHER WEEK," writes a Correspondent of *Jerrold's News*, "it is likely that Mr. Frederick Peel, a younger son of Sir Robert, will have taken his seat as member for Leominster. The eldest son of Lord Stanely, who only attained his majority last year, was elected in his absence for King's Lynn a few months ago. The sons, therefore, of two of the greatest men of the day will enter Parliament contemporaneously. By and by we shall see how far genius shall prove hereditary *in* either case."

THE SAXON.—All advice is lost upon the Saxon but *show him* a method superior to his own; give him but a hint of the superiority existing somewhere, and nowhere on the earth will be found a person so ready to adopt the new method, so admirably active and skilful in applying the discoveries of other races to his own pecuniary advantage. Inventive *genius* he has not, applicative *ability* is all his own. *Accumulative* desires haunt him everywhere; in Holland, England, America.—Dr. KNOX [*Medical Times*.]

AN EXTRAVAGANT SORT OF PATRIOTISM.—Mr. Henry Grattan, in the life of his distinguished father, relates the following anecdote of the father of Robert and Thomas Emmett,—"The education he gave his sons was singular; and led to much of their misfortunes.—Curren used to describe him very drolly, giving them their '*morning draught*' 'Well, Temple, that would you do for your country?' 'Addis, would you kill your brother for your country? would you kill your sister for your country? would you kill me?' Thus, he misdirected the natural spirit of youth, and infused into their minds *an extravagant sort of patriotism*."—*Dublin World*.

THE MOTHER AND THE CHILD.—Some mothers make it a practice to go themselves to fetch the candle when the children are in bed; and then, if wanted, they stay a few minutes, and hear any confessions, or difficulties,